THE

ETHNOLOGY, LANGUAGES LITERATURE AND RELIGIONS

OF

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Herbert Risley
George Grierson
William Crooke

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CHAPTER I

ETHNOLOGY AND CASTE[1]

The data of ethnology.

THE modern science of ethnology endeavours to define and classify the various physical types with reference to their distinctive characteristics, in the hope that, when sufficient data have been accumulated, it may be possible in some measure to account for the types themselves, to determine the elements of which they are composed, and thus to establish their connexion with one or other of the great families of mankind. In India, where historical evidence can hardly be said to exist, the data ordinarily available are of three kinds: physical characters, linguistic characters, and religious and social usages. Of these the first are by far the most trustworthy.

Indefinite physical characters.

For ethnological purposes, physical characters may be said to be of two kinds: 'indefinite,' which can only be described in more or less appropriate language; and 'definite,' which admit of being measured and reduced to numerical expression. The former class, usually called descriptive or secondary characters, includes such points as the colour and texture of the skin; the colour, form, and position of the eyes; the colour and character of the hair; and the form of the face and features. Conspicuous as these traits are, the difficulty of observing, defining, and recording them is extreme. Colour, the most striking of all, is perhaps the most evasive.

Colour of skin.

The skin of the Indian peoples exhibits extreme divergences of colouring. At one end of the scale we have the dead black of the Andamanese, and the somewhat brighter black of the Dravidians of Southern India. At the other end one may place the flushed ivory of the traditional Kashmīri beauty, and the very light transparent brown—'wheat-coloured' is the common vernacular description—of the higher castes of Northern India, which is hardly darker than that met with in

[1] This chapter has been abridged, with the assistance of the author, from the chapter on 'Caste, Tribe and Race' contributed by Mr. H. H. Risley, C.S.I., C.I.E., to the *Report on the Census of India*, 1901.

members of the swarthier races of Southern Europe. Between these extremes we find countless shades of brown, darker or lighter, transparent or opaque, frequently tending towards yellow, more rarely approaching a reddish tint, and occasionally degenerating into a sort of greyish black. It would be a hopeless task to register and classify these variations. Nor, if it were done, should we be in a position to evolve order out of the chaos of tints. For even in the individual, minute gradations of colour are comparatively unstable, and are liable to be affected not only by exposure to sun and wind, but by differences of temperature and humidity. Natives of Bengal have stated that people of their race, one of the darkest in India, become appreciably fairer when domiciled in Hindustān or the Punjab, and the converse process may be observed in natives of Northern India living in the damp heat of the Ganges delta.

Hair and eyes.

Little variety is traceable in the character of the eyes and hair. From one end of India to the other the hair of the great mass of the population is black or dark brown, while among the higher castes the latter colour is occasionally shot through by something approaching a tawny shade. Straight hair seems on the whole to predominate, but the wavy or curly character appears in much the same proportion as among the races of Europe. The Andamanese have woolly or frizzly hair, oval in section and curling on itself so tightly that it seems to grow in separate spiral tufts, while in fact it is quite evenly distributed over the scalp. Although the terms woolly and frizzly have been loosely applied to the wavy hair not uncommon among the Dravidians, no good observer has as yet found among any of the Indian races a head that could be correctly described as woolly. The eyes are almost invariably dark brown. Occasional instances of grey eyes are, however, found among the Konkanasth Brāhmans of Bombay; and the combination of blue eyes, auburn hair, and reddish blonde complexion is met with on the north-western frontier. On the Malabar coast Mr. Thurston has noticed several instances of pale blue and grey eyes combined with a dark complexion.

Definite physical characters. Craniometry and anthropometry.

When we turn to the definite, or anthropometric, characters, we find ourselves upon firmer ground. In the early days of anthropology, it was natural that the attention of students should have been directed mainly to the examination of skulls. Craniometry seemed to offer a solution of the problems regarding the origin and antiquity of the human race which then divided the scientific world. Its precise method promised to clear up the mystery of the prehistoric skulls discovered in the

quaternary strata of Europe, and to connect them on the one side with a possible simian ancestor of mankind, and on the other with the races of the present day. This line of research led on to the measurements of living subjects, which have since been undertaken by a number of inquirers. Anthropometry, which deals with living people, while craniometry is concerned exclusively with skulls, possesses certain advantages over the elder science. For reasons too technical to enter upon here, its procedure is in some respects less precise, and its results less minute and exhaustive, than those of craniometry. These minor shortcomings are, however, amply made up for by its incomparably wider range. The number of subjects available is practically unlimited; measurements can be undertaken on a scale large enough to eliminate not merely the personal equation of the measurer, but also the occasional variations of type arising from intermixture of blood; and the investigation is not restricted to the characters of the head, but extends to the stature and the proportions of the limbs. A further advantage arises from the fact that no doubts can arise as to the identity of the individuals measured. In working with skulls this last point has to be reckoned with. The same place of sepulture may have been used in succession by two different races; and the skulls of conquering chiefs may be mixed with those of alien slaves; or of prisoners slain to escort their captors to the world of the dead. The savage practice of head-hunting may equally bring about a deplorable confusion of cranial types; skulls picked up in times of famine may belong to people who have wandered from no one knows where; and even hospital specimens may lose their identity in the process of cleaning.

Anthropometry in India.

Scientific anthropometry was introduced into India on a large scale in 1886, in connexion with the Ethnographic Survey of Bengal then in progress. The survey itself was a first attempt to apply to Indian ethnography the method of systematic research sanctioned by the authority of European anthropologists. Among these the measurement of physical characters occupies a prominent place; and it seemed that the restrictions on intermarriage which are peculiar to the Indian social system would favour this method of observation, and would enable it to yield peculiarly clear and instructive results. A further reason for resorting to anthropometry was the fact that the wholesale borrowing of customs and ceremonies which goes on among the various social groups in India makes it practically impossible to arrive at any certain conclusions by

examining these practices. Finally, the necessity of employing more precise methods was accentuated by Mr. Nesfield's[1] uncompromising denial of the truth of 'the modern doctrine which divides the population of India into Aryan and aboriginal'; and his assertion of the essential unity of the Indian race, enforced as it was by the specific statements that 'the great majority of Brāhmans are not of lighter complexion, or of finer and better bred features, than any other caste,' and that a stranger walking through the class-rooms of the Sanskrit College at Benares 'would never dream of supposing' that the high caste students of that exclusive institution 'were distinct in race and blood from the scavengers who swept the roads.' A theory which departed so widely from the current beliefs of the people, and from the opinions of most independent observers, called for the searching test which anthropometry promised to furnish, and the case was crucial enough to put the method itself on its trial. The experiment has been justified by its results.

The data now available.

In 1890 Mr. H. H. Risley published in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*[2], under the title 'The Study of Ethnology in India,' a summary of the measurements of eighty-nine characteristic tribes and castes of Bengal, the United Provinces, and the Punjab. These measurements were taken in accordance with a scheme approved by the late Sir William Flower of the British Museum and Professor Topinard of Paris. Topinard's instruments were used and his instructions were closely followed throughout. Analysis of the data rendered it possible to distinguish, in the area covered by the experiment, three main types, which were named provisionally Aryan, Dravidian, and Mongoloid. The characteristics of these types will be discussed below. Here it is sufficient to remark that the classification was accepted by Flower, Beddoe, and Haddon in England; by Topinard in France; and by Virchow, Schmidt, and Kollmann in Germany. It has recently been confirmed by the high authority of Sir William Turner, who has been led by the examination of a large number of skulls to the same conclusions that were suggested to Mr. Risley by measurements taken on living subjects. Similar confirmation is furnished by the craniometric researches of Colonel Havelock Charles in the Punjab. Great additions have been made to the number of measurements on living subjects by the exertions of

[1] Nesfield's *Brief View of the Caste System of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.*

[2] *J. A. I.*, xx. 235.

Mr. Edgar Thurston, Superintendent of Ethnography, Madras; by Mr. T. H. Holland, Director of the Geological Survey of India, who has contributed important data for the Coorgs and Yeravas of Southern India, and the Kanets of Kulū and Lāhul; by Messrs. K. B. Samanta and B. A. Gupte, who have carried out under Mr. Risley's instructions an extensive series of measurements in Baluchistān, Rājputāna, Bombay, and Orissa; and by Colonel Waddell, of the Indian Medical Service, who has published some most valuable data for Assam and parts of Bengal in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*[1]. It must be added that the conclusions based on these investigations are necessarily provisional, and will be of use mainly as a guide to research and as an indication of the progress made up to date (1905) in this line of inquiry. During the next few years the data will be greatly added to by the Ethnographic Survey of India still in progress, and we may then hope to make some approach to a final classification of the people of India on the basis of their physical characters.

Conditions favourable to anthropometry in India.

It is easy enough to distinguish certain well-marked physical types. Our difficulties begin when we attempt to carry the process farther, and to differentiate the minor types or sub-types which have been formed by varying degrees of intermixture. The extremes of the series are sharply defined; but the intermediate types melt into each other, and it is hard to say where the dividing line should be drawn. Here measurements are of great assistance, especially if they are arranged in a series so as to bring out the relative preponderance of certain characters in a large number of the members of particular groups. We are further assisted by the remarkable correspondence that may be observed at the present day, in all parts of India except the Punjab, between variations of physical type and differences of grouping and social position. This, of course, is due to the operation of the caste system. Nowhere else in the world do we find the population of a large sub-continent broken up into an infinite number of mutually exclusive aggregates, the members of which are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside the group to which they themselves belong. Whatever may have been the origin and the earlier developments of caste, this absolute prohibition of mixed marriages stands forth now as its essential and most prominent characteristic. In a society thus organized, a society putting an extravagant value on pride of blood and the idea of ceremonial purity, differences of physical type, however produced in the first instance, may be ex-

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, vol. lxix, part iii, 1900.

pected to manifest a high degree of persistence, while methods which seek to trace and express such differences find a peculiarly favourable field for their operations. In this respect India presents a remarkable contrast to most other parts of the world, where anthropometry has to confess itself hindered, if not baffled, by the constant intermixture of types, obscuring and confusing the data ascertained by measurements. All the recognized nations of Europe are the result of a process of unrestricted crossing, which has fused a number of distinct tribal types into a more or less definable national type. In India the process of fusion was long ago arrested, and the degree of progress which it had made up to the point at which it ceased to operate is expressed in the physical characteristics of the groups which have been left behind. There is consequently no national type, and no nation in the ordinary sense of the word.

Measurement of head-form.

The measurements themselves require a few words of explanation. The form of the head is ascertained by measuring in a horizontal plane the greatest length from a definite point on the forehead (the glabella) to the back of the head, and the greatest breadth a little above the ears. The proportion of the breadth to the length is then expressed as a percentage called the cephalic index. Heads with a proportionate breadth of 80 per cent. and over are classed as broad or brachy-cephalic; those with an index under 80, but not under 75, are called medium heads (meso- or mesati-cephalic); long or dolicho-cephalic heads are those in which the ratio of breadth to length is below 75 per cent.

Its value as a test of race.

It is not contended that these groupings correspond to the primary divisions of mankind. Long, broad, and medium heads are met with in varying degrees of preponderance among the white, black, and yellow races. But within these primary divisions the proportions of the head serve to mark off important groups. Topinard shows how the form expressed by the index separates the long-headed Scandinavian people from the broad-headed Celts and Slavs, while the Esquimaux are distinguished on similar grounds from the Asiatic Mongols, and the Australians from the Negritos. All authorities agree in regarding the form of the head as an extremely constant and persistent character, which resists the influence of climate and physical surroundings, and (having nothing to do with the personal appearance of the individual) is not liable to be modified by the action of artificial selection. Men choose their wives mainly for their faces and figures, and a long-headed woman offers no

greater attractions of external form and colouring than her short-headed sister. The intermixture of races with different head-forms will of course affect the index, but even here there is a tendency to revert to the original type when the influence of crossing is withdrawn. On the whole, therefore, the form of the head, especially when combined with other characters, is a good test of racial affinity. It may be added that neither the shape nor the size of the head seems to bear any direct relation to intellectual capacity.

Head-form in India.

Compared with the rest of Asia, India may be described as mainly an area of long-headed people, seperated by the Himālayas and its offshoots from the Mongolian country, where the broad-headed types are more numerous and more pronounced than anywhere else in the world. At either end of the mountain barrier broad heads are strongly represented, in Assam and Burma on the east, and in Baluchistān on the west; and the same character occurs in varying degrees in the Lower Himālayas, and in a belt of country on the west of India, extending from Gujarāt through the Deccan to Coorg, the precise limits of which it is not yet possible to define. In the Punjab, Rājputāna, and the United Provinces long heads predominate, but the type gradually changes as we travel eastward. In Bihār medium heads prevail on the whole, while in certain of the Bengal groups a distinct tendency towards brachy-cephaly may be observed, which shows itself in the Muhammadans and Chandāls of Eastern Bengal, is more distinctly marked in the Kāyasths, and reaches its maximum development among the Bengal Brāhmans. South of the Vindhyas the prevalent type seems to be mainly long-headed or medium-headed, short heads appearing only in the western zone referred to above. The coast population has been much affected by foreign influence—Malayan or Indo-Chinese on the east; Arab, Persian, African, European, and Jewish on the west; and the mixed types thus produced cannot be brought under any general formula.

Measurement of the nose.

The proportions of the nose are determined on the same principle as those of the skull. The height and the breadth are measured from certain specified points, and the latter dimension is expressed as a percentage of the former. The nasal index, therefore, is simply the relation of the breadth of the nose to its height. If a man's nose is as broad as it is high, no infrequent case among the Dravidians, his index is 100. The results thus obtained are grouped in three classes—narrow or fine noses (leptorrhine), in which the width is less than 70 per cent. of the height; medium noses (mesorrhine), with an

index of from 70 to 85; and broad noses (platyrrhine), in which the proportion rises to 85 per cent. and over. Where races with different nasal proportions have intermingled, the index marks the degree of crossing that has taken place; it records a large range of variations; and it enables us to group types in a serial order corresponding to that suggested by other characters. For these reasons the nasal index is accepted by all anthropologists as one of the best tests of racial affinity.

The nasal index in India.

Speaking generally, it may be said that the broad type of nose is most common in Madras, the Central Provinces, and Chotā Nāgpur; that fine noses in the strict sense of the term are confined to the Punjab and Baluchistān; and that the population of the rest of India tends to fall within the medium class. But the range of the index is very great: it varies in individual cases from 122 to 53, and the mean indices of different groups differ considerably in the same part of the country. The average nasal proportions of the Māl Pahāriā tribe of Bengal are expressed by the figure 94·5, while the pastoral Gūjars of the Punjab have an index of 66·9 and the Sikhs of 68·8. In other words, the typical Dravidian, as represented by the Māl Pahāriā, has a nose as broad in proportion to its length as the Negro, while this feature in the Indo-Aryan group can fairly bear comparison with the noses of sixty-eight Parisians, measured by Topinard, which gave an average of 69·4. Even more striking is the curiously close correspondence between the gradations of racial type indicated by the nasal index and certain of the social data ascertained by independent inquiry. If we take a series of castes in Bengal, Bihār, the United Provinces, or Madras, and arrange them in the order of the average nasal index, so that the caste with the finest nose shall be at the top and that with the coarsest nose at the bottom of the list, it will be found that this order substantially corresponds with the accepted order of social precedence. Nor is this the only point in which the two sets of observations, the social and the physical, bear out and illustrate each other. The character of the curious matrimonial groupings for which the late Mr. J. F. McLennan devised the useful term exogamous also varies in a definite relation to the gradations of physical type. Within a certain range of nasal proportions, these subdivisions are based almost exclusively on the totem. Along with a somewhat finer form of nose, groups called after villages and larger territorial areas, or bearing the name of certain tribal or communal officials, begin to appear; and above these again we reach the eponymous saints and heroes who in

Its correspondence with social groupings.

India, as in Greece and Rome, are associated with a certain stage of Aryan progress.

The orbito-nasal index: a test of Mongolian affinities.

The comparative flatness of the Mongolian face is a peculiarity which cannot fail to strike the most casual observer. On closer examination this characteristic will be seen to be closely connected with the formation of the cheek-bones, the margins of the bony sockets of the eyes, and the root of the nose. No precise measurements can be made of the cheek-bones on the living subject, for it is impossible to fix any definite points from which the dimensions can be taken. Some years ago, however, Mr. Oldfield Thomas devised a method of measuring the relative projection of the root of the nose above the level of the eye-sockets, which expresses very accurately the degree of flatness of face met with in different types. It was used by him for skulls; but it has the great advantage of being equally applicable to living persons, and, at Sir William Flower's suggestion, it has been extensively used in India, especially among hill tribes and wherever there was reason to suspect an intermixture of Mongolian blood. The procedure adopted is to mark a point on the front surface of the outer edge of each orbit, and a third point on the centre of the root of the nose where it is lowest. The distance between the two orbital dots is then measured in a direct line, and also the distance from each of these to the dot on the bridge of the nose. The former dimension represents the base of a triangle, the latter its two sides. The index is formed by calculating the percentage of the latter breadth on the former. If, as is sometimes the case, the bridge of the nose is let down so low that it does not project at all beyond the level of the orbits, the two dimensions will obviously be of equal length and the index will be 100. If, on the other hand, the elevation of the bridge of the nose is marked, the index may be as high as 127 or 130. Experience gained in India, which extends to a large number of castes and tribes in all parts of the country, has led Mr. Risley to adopt, on the indices thus obtained, the following grouping for the living subject:—

Platyopic	below 110.
Mesopic	110 to 112·9.
Pro-opic	113 and over.

This brings the Mongoloid people of Assam and the Eastern Himālayas within the platyopic group, and effectually differentiates them from the broad-headed races of Baluchistān, Bombay, and Coorg. It also separates the Indo-Aryans from the Aryo-Dravidians.

Stature in Europe and India.

Topinard's classification of stature, which is generally accepted, comprises four groups whose height in feet and inches is as below:—

Tall statures . .	5′ 7″ and over.
Above average . .	between 5′ 5″ and 5′ 7″.
Below average . .	between 5′ 3″ and 5′ 5″.
Short statures . .	less than 5′ 3″.

Much has been written on the subject of the causes which affect the stature. The general conclusion seems to be that in Europe the influence of race is to a great extent obscured by other factors, such as climate, soil, elevation, food-supply, habits of life, occupation, and natural or artificial selection. Most of these causes also come into play in India, but not necessarily to the same extent as in Europe. The influence of city life, which in civilized countries tends to reduce the stature and to produce physical degeneracy, is relatively small in India, where the great majority of the population are engaged in agriculture. Nor are the conditions of factory industries so trying, or so likely to affect growth, as in Europe. Some of the indigenous hand-loom weavers, however, show the lowest mean stature yet recorded, a fact which is probably due to the unwholesome conditions in which they live. In India, as in Europe, dwellers in the hills are generally shorter than the people of the plains; and within the hill region it may in both countries be observed that the stature is often greater at high than at moderate altitudes, a fact which has been ascribed to the influence of rigorous climate in killing off all but vigorous individuals. In India, too, the prevalence of malaria at the lower levels would probably tend to bring about the same result. On the whole, however, the distribution of stature in India seems to suggest that race differences play a larger part here than they do in Europe. The tallest statures are found in Baluchistān, the Punjab, and Rājputāna; and a progressive decline may be traced down the valley of the Ganges, until the lowest limit is reached among the Mongoloid people of the hills bordering on Assam. In the south of India the stature is generally lower than in the plains of the north. The minimum is found among the Negritos of the Andaman islands, whose mean stature is given by Deniker as 4 feet 10½ inches.

The seven main physical types of India.

The physical data above discussed enable us to divide the people of the Indian Empire into seven main physical types. If we include the Andamanese, the number of types would be eight, but for our present purpose this tiny group of Negritos may

be disregarded. Counting from the north-western frontier, the main types are as follows:—

I. The *Turko-Irānian*, represented by the Baloch, Brāhui, and Afghāns of Baluchistān and the North-west Frontier Province. Probably formed by a fusion of Turkī and Persian elements, in which the former predominate. Stature above mean; complexion fair; eyes mostly dark, but occasionally grey; hair on face plentiful; head broad; nose moderately narrow, prominent, and very long. The feature in these people that strikes one most prominently is the portentous length of their noses, and it is probably this peculiarity that has given rise to the tradition of the Jewish origin of the Afghāns.

II. The *Indo-Aryan*, occupying the Punjab, Rājputāna, and Kashmīr, and having as its characteristic members the Rājputs, Khattrīs, and Jāts. This type, which is readily distinguishable from the Turko-Irānian, approaches most closely to that ascribed to the traditional Aryan colonists of India. The stature is mostly tall; complexion fair; eyes dark; hair on face plentiful; head long; nose narrow and prominent, but not specially long.

The most important points to observe in the Indo-Aryan measurements are the great uniformity of type, and the very slight differences between the higher and the lower groups. Socially no gulf can be wider than that which divides the Rājput of Udaipur from the scavenging Chuhrā of the Punjab. Physically the one is cast in much the same mould as the other; and the difference in mean height which the seriations disclose is no greater than might easily be accounted for by the fact that, in respect of food, occupation, and habits of life, the Rājput has for many generations enjoyed advantages denied to the Chuhrā. Stature we know to be peculiarly sensitive to external influences of this kind. Other and more subtle influences react upon environment and tend to modify the type: thus Sikhism has transformed the despised Chuhrā into the soldierly Mazhabī.

III. The *Scytho-Dravidian*, comprising the Marāthā Brāhmans, the Kunbīs, and the Coorgs of Western India. Probably formed by a mixture of Scythian and Dravidian elements. This type is clearly distinguished from the Turko-Irānian by a lower stature, a greater length of head, a higher nasal index, a shorter nose, and a lower orbito-nasal index. All of these characters, except perhaps the last, may be due to a varying degree of intermixture with the Dravidians. In the higher

groups the amount of crossing seems to have been slight; in the lower the Dravidian elements are more pronounced.

IV. The *Aryo-Dravidian, or Hindustāni,* found in the United Provinces, in parts of Rājputāna, and in Bihār, and represented in its upper strata by the Hindustāni Brāhman and in its lower by the Chamār. Probably the result of the intermixture, in varying proportions, of the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian types. The head-form is long, with a tendency to medium; the complexion varies from lightish brown to black; the nose ranges from medium to broad, being always broader than among the Indo-Aryans; the stature is lower than in the latter group, and usually below the average according to the scale given on p. 292. The higher representatives of this type approach the Indo-Aryans, while the lower members are in many respects not very far removed from the Dravidians. The type is essentially a mixed one, yet its characteristics are readily definable, and no one would take even an upper-class Hindustāni for a pure Indo-Aryan, or a Chamār for a genuine Dravidian. The distinctive feature of the type, the character which gives the real clue to its origin and stamps the Aryo-Dravidian as racially different from the Indo-Aryan, is to be found in the proportions of the nose. The average index runs in an unbroken series from 73·0 in the Bhuinhār of Hindustān, and 73·2 in the Brāhman of Bihār, to 86 in the Hindustāni Chamār and 88·7 in the Musahār of Bihār. The order thus established corresponds substantially with the scale of social precedence independently ascertained.

V. The *Mongolo-Dravidian or Bengali* type of Lower Bengal and Orissa, comprising the Bengal Brāhmans and Kāyasths, the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal, and other groups peculiar to this part of India. Probably a blend of Dravidian and Mongoloid elements, with a strain of Indo-Aryan blood in the higher groups. The head is broad; complexion dark; hair on face usually plentiful; stature medium; nose medium, with a tendency to broad.

This is one of the most distinctive types in India, and its members may be recognized at a glance throughout the wide area where their remarkable aptitude for clerical pursuits has procured them employment. Within its own habitat the type extends to the Himālayas on the north and to Assam on the east, and probably includes the bulk of the population of Orissa; the western limit coincides approximately with the hilly country of Chotā Nāgpur and Western Bengal. The broad head of the Bengali, of which the mean index varies from 79·0 in the

Brāhman to 83·0 in the Rājbansi Magh, effectually differentiates the type from the Indo-Aryan or Aryo-Dravidian. The seriation of the cephalic index for the Brāhmans of Eastern Bengal is very regular in its gradations, and it presents a striking contrast with the corresponding diagrams for the Hindustāni Brāhmans and the Rājput. Here, as elsewhere, the inferences as to racial affinity suggested by the measurements are in entire accord with the evidence afforded by features and general appearance. For example, it is a matter of common knowledge that the Rājbansi Magh of Chittagong, who is in great demand as a cook in European households in India, resembles the upper-class Bengali of Eastern Bengal so closely that it takes an acute observer to tell the difference between the two. In the Brāhman seriation the finer nasal forms predominate; and it is open to any one to argue that, notwithstanding the uncompromising breadth of the head, the nose-form may in their case be due to the remote strain of Indo-Aryan ancestry to which their traditions bear witness.

VI. The *Mongoloid* type of the Himālayas, Nepāl, Assam, and Burma, represented by the Kanets of Lāhul and Kulū; the Lepchās of Darjeeling and Sikkim; the Limbus, Murmīs, and Gurungs of Nepāl; the Bodo of Assam; and the Burmese. The head is broad; complexion dark, with a yellowish tinge; hair on face scanty; stature short or below average; nose fine to broad; face characteristically flat; eyelids often oblique.

On its northern and eastern frontier India marches with the great Mongolian region of the earth, and a glance at the ethnographic map in the *Gazetteer Atlas* will show how the Indian area on which this particular foreign influence has impressed itself widens gradually from west to east. The Punjab and Hindustān are left virtually untouched; the Bengalis exhibit a type sensibly modified in the direction of Mongolian characters; the Assamese are unmistakably Mongoloid; and in Burma the only non-Mongolian elements are the result of recent immigration from India. This condition of things is of course mainly due to the intervention of the great physical barrier of the Himālayas, which obstructed the southward extension of the Mongolian races. But other causes also enter in. No one who is acquainted with the population of the Lower Himālayas can have failed to observe that in the west there has been a substantial intermixture of Indo-Aryan elements, while in the east the prevailing type down to the verge of the plains is exclusively Mongoloid. The reason seems to be that the warlike races of the Punjab and Hindustān

invaded the pleasant places of the hills, and conquered for themselves the little kingdoms which once extended from the Kashmīr valley to the eastern border of Nepāl. The hill Rājputs of Kāngra and the Khas of Nepāl form the living records of these forgotten enterprises. Farther east the conditions were reversed. Neither Bengalis nor Assamese have any stomach for fighting; they submitted tamely to the periodical raids of the hill people; and the only check upon the incursions of the latter was their inability to stand the heat of the plains. They occupied, however, the whole of the lower ranges, and held the Duārs, or gates, of Bhutān until dispossessed by us. Thus, in the Eastern Himālayas none of the plains people made good a footing within the hills, which remain to this day in the exclusive possession of races of the Mongoloid type.

VII. The *Dravidian* type, extending from Ceylon to the valley of the Ganges, and pervading Madras, Hyderābād, the Central Provinces, most of Central India, and Chotā Nāgpur. Its most characteristic representatives are the Paniyans of Malabar and the Santāls of Chotā Nāgpur. Probably the original type of the population of India, now modified to a varying extent by the admixture of Aryan, Scythian, and Mongoloid elements. In typical specimens the stature is short or below mean; the complexion very dark, approaching black; hair plentiful, with an occasional tendency to curl; eyes dark; head long; nose very broad, sometimes depressed at the root, but not so as to make the face appear flat. This race, the most primitive of the Indian types, occupies the oldest geological formation in India, the medley of forest-clad ranges, terraced plateaux, and undulating plains which stretches, roughly speaking, from the Vindhyas to Cape Comorin. On the east and west of the peninsular area the domain of the Dravidian is conterminous with the Ghāts, while farther north it reaches on one side to the Arāvallis, and on the other to the Rājmahāl Hills. Where the original characteristics have been unchanged by contact with Indo-Aryan or Mongoloid people, the type is remarkably uniform and distinctive. Labour is the birthright of the pure Dravidian: whether hoeing tea in Assam, the Duārs, or Ceylon, cutting rice in the swamps of Eastern Bengal, or doing scavenger's work in the streets of Calcutta, Rangoon, and Singapore, he is recognizable at a glance by his black skin, his squat figure, and the negro-like proportions of his nose. In the upper strata of the vast social deposit which is here treated as Dravidian these typical characteristics tend to thin

out and disappear, but even among them traces of the original stock survive in varying degrees.

Limitations of the type scheme.

It must, however, be clearly understood that the areas occupied by these various types do not admit of being defined as sharply as they must be shown on an ethnographic map. They melt into each other insensibly; and, although at the close of a day's journey from one ethnic tract to another, an observer whose attention had been directed to the subject would realize clearly enough that the physical characteristics of the people had undergone an appreciable change, he would certainly be unable to say at what particular stage in his progress the transformation had taken place. Secondly, it must not be imagined that any type is alleged to be in exclusive possession of the locality to which it is assigned. When, for example, Madras is described as a Dravidian and Bengal as a Mongolo-Dravidian tract, this does not mean that all the people of Madras or Bengal must of necessity belong to the predominant type. From time immemorial in India a stream of movement has been setting from west to east and from north to south, a tendency impelling the higher types towards the territories occupied by the lower. In the course of this movement representatives of the Indo-Aryan type have spread themselves all over India, as conquerors, traders, landowners, or priests, preserving their original characteristics in varying degrees, and receiving a measure of social recognition dependent in the main on the supposed purity of their descent from the original immigrants. Family and caste traditions record countless instances of such incursions, and in many cases the tradition is confirmed by the concurrent testimony of historical documents and physical characteristics. Even in the Provinces farthest removed from the Indo-Aryan settlements in North-western India, members of the upper castes are still readily distinguishable by their features and complexion from the mass of the population, and their claims to represent a different race are thrown into relief by the definition now for the first time attempted of the predominant type of the Province. Thirdly, it may be said that the names assigned to the types beg the highly speculative question of the elements which have contributed to their formation. The criticism is unanswerable. But we must have some distinctive names for our types; names based solely on physical characters are practically mere bundles of formulae; and if hypotheses of origin are worth constructing at all, one should not shrink from expressing them in their most telling form. The origins

of these types are hidden in the mist which veils the remote era of the Aryan advance into India. Our only guides are tradition and conjecture, aided by the assumption, which the history of the East warrants us in making, that in those distant ages types were formed by much the same processes as those that we find in operation to-day.

The Dravidian type.

The Dravidians probably constitute the oldest of the seven types. Their low stature, black skin, long heads, broad noses, and relatively long forearm distinguish them from the rest of the population of India, and appear at first sight to confirm Huxley's surmise that they may be related to the aborigines of Australia. Linguistic affinities, especially the resemblance between the numerals in Mundāri and in certain Australian dialects, and the survival of some abortive forms of the boomerang in Southern India, have been cited in support of this view; and an appeal has also been made to Sclater's hypothesis of a submerged continent of Lemuria, extending from Madagascar to the Malay Archipelago, and linking India with Africa on the one side and with Australia on the other. But Sir William Turner's comparative study of the characters of Australian and Dravidian crania has not led him to the conclusion that these data can be adduced in support of the theory of the unity of the two peoples. The facts which cast doubt on the Australian affinities of the Dravidians likewise refute the hasty opinion which seeks to associate them with the tiny, broad-headed, and woolly-haired Negritos of the Andamans and the Philippines. This is the last word of scientific authority; and here we might leave the subject, were it not that another theory of the origin of the Dravidians was adopted by Sir William Hunter in the account of the non-Aryan races of India given by him in *The Indian Empire*. According to this view there are two branches of the Dravidians—the Kolārians, speaking dialects allied to Mundāri, and the Dravidians proper, whose languages belong to the Tamil family. The former entered India from the north-east and occupied the northern portion of the Vindhya table-land. There they were conquered and split into fragments by the main body of Dravidians, who found their way into the Punjab through the north-western passes and pressed forward towards the south of India. The basis of this theory is obscure. Its account of the Dravidians proper seems to rest upon a supposed affinity between the Brāhui dialect of Baluchistān and the languages of Southern India, while the hypothesis of the north-eastern origin of the Kolārians depends

on the fancied recognition of Mongolian characteristics among the people of Chotā Nāgpur. But in the first place the distinction between Kolārians and Dravidians is purely linguistic, and does not correspond to any differences of physical type. Secondly, it is extremely improbable that a large body of very black and conspicuously long-headed types should have come from the one region of the earth which is peopled exclusively by races with broad heads and yellow complexions. With this we may dismiss the theory which assigns a trans-Himālayan origin to the Dravidians. Taking them as we find them now, it may safely be said that their present geographical distribution, the marked uniformity of physical characters among the more primitive members of the group, their animistic religion, their distinctive languages, their stone monuments, and their retention of a primitive system of totemism justify us in regarding them as the earliest inhabitants of India of whom we have any knowledge.

The Indo-Aryan type.

Upon the interminable discussions known as the Aryan controversy there is no need to enter here. Whether anything that can properly be described as an Aryan race ever existed; whether the heads of its members were long, according to Penka, or short, according to Sergi; whether its original habitat was Scandinavia, the Lithuanian steppe, South-east Russia, Central Asia, or India itself, as various authorities have held; or again, whether the term Aryan is anything more than a philological expression denoting a heterogeneous group of peoples whose languages belong to the Aryan family of speech—these are questions which may for our present purpose be left unanswered. We are concerned merely with the fact that there now exists in the Punjab and Rājputāna a definite physical type, represented by the Jāts and Rājputs, which is marked by a relatively long (dolicho-cephalic) head; a straight, finely cut (leptorrhine) nose; a long, symmetrically narrow face; a well-developed forehead; regular features; and a high facial angle. The stature is tall, and the general build of the figure is well proportioned, being relatively massive in the Jāts and slender in the Rājputs. Throughout the group the predominant colour of the skin is a very light transparent brown, with a tendency towards darker shades in the lower social strata. Except among the Meos and Mīnās of Rājputāna, where a strain of Bhīl blood may perhaps be discerned, the type shows no signs of having been modified by contact with the Dravidians; its physical characteristics are remarkably uniform; and the geographical conditions of its habitat tend to exclude

the possibility of intermixture with the black races of the south. In respect of their social characters, the Indo-Aryans, as we have here called them, are equally distinct from the bulk of the Indian people. They have not wholly escaped the influence of caste; but its bonds are less rigid here than elsewhere, and the social system retains features which recall the more fluid organization of the tribe. Marriage in particular is not restricted by the hard-and-fast limits which caste tends to impose; but is regulated, within large groups, by the principle of hypergamy, or 'marrying up,' which was supposed to govern the connubial relations of the four original classes (*varna*) in the system described by Manu. Even now Rājputs and Jāts occasionally intermarry, the Rājputs taking wives from the Jāts, but refusing to give their own maidens in return. What is the exception to-day is said to have been the rule in earlier times. In short, both social and physical characters are those of a comparatively homogeneous community which has been but little affected by crossing with alien races.

Its non-Indian origin.

The uniformity of the Indo-Aryan type can be accounted for only by one of two hypotheses—that its members were indigenous to the Punjab, or that they entered India in a compact body, or in a continuous stream of families, from beyond the north-west frontier. It is clear that they cannot have come by sea, and equally clear that they could not have found their way into India round the eastern end of the Himālayas. The theory that the Punjab was the cradle of the Aryan race was propounded by a writer in the Royal Asiatic Society's *Journal*[1] about fifty years ago, on the basis of some rather crude linguistic speculations; but it met with no acceptance, and the opinion of European scholars, from Von Schlegel down to the present time, is unanimous in favour of the foreign origin of the Indo-Aryans. The arguments appealed to are mainly philological. Vedic literature, indeed, as Zimmer[2] admits, throws but scanty light upon the subject, for no great weight can be laid upon the identification of the river Basā with the Araxes, the name by which the Jaxartes was known to Herodotus. We may, however, assume for our present purpose that the ancestors of the Indo-Aryans came into India from the north-west, and that at the time of their arrival the Peninsula, as far as the valley of the Ganges and Jumna, was in the possession of the Dravidians. The only indication of the latter people having extended farther to the west is to be found

[1] *J. R. A. S.*, xvi. 172-200.

[2] Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 15 and 101.

in the survival of Brāhui, an island of supposed Dravidian speech, among the Irānian languages of Baluchistān. But the present speakers of Brāhui are certainly not Dravidians by race, and we find no traces of Dravidian blood among the Indo-Aryans of to-day. It seems probable, therefore, that when the Indo-Aryans entered the Punjab they brought their own women with them: on no other supposition can we explain the comparative purity of their type.

The mode of its entry into India.

Now if the physical and social conditions of the Indian borderland had been the same in those remote ages as we find them at the present day, it is difficult to see how the slow advance of family or tribal migration could have proceeded on a scale large enough to result in an effective occupation of the Punjab. The frontier strip itself, a mere tangle of barren hills and narrow valleys, is ill adapted to serve as an *officina gentium*, while a pastoral people, moving by clans or families from more favoured regions farther west, would have found their way barred by obstacles which only the strongest members of the community could have surmounted. The women and children must have been left behind or they would have perished by the way. Again, given the present rainfall and climate of the countries adjacent to India, where should we find to-day, within a measurable distance of the frontier, the favoured region that would give off the swarm of emigrants required to people the Punjab? Surely not in South-eastern Persia, with its inhospitable deserts of shifting sand; nor on the dreary Central Asian steppes, where only a scanty nomadic population finds a meagre subsistence. But is it certain that, during the three or four thousand years that may have elapsed since the Aryans began to press forward into India, the climate of the countries through which they passed has not undergone a material change? There is a certain amount of evidence in favour of this supposition. Mr. W. T. Blanford, writing in 1873[1], thought it probable that the rainfall in both Central Asia and Persia had decreased greatly in modern times; and that, owing mainly to this cause, and in a less degree to the destruction of trees and bushes, the climate had become appreciably drier, cultivation had fallen off, and the population had greatly declined in numbers. Nearly thirty years later, we find Mr. Blanford's views confirmed and developed by Mr. E. Vredenburg in his geological sketch of the Baluchistān desert and part of Eastern Persia[2]. Mr. Vredenburg applies to the problem the known

[1] *Quart. Jour. Geol. Soc.*, xxix (1873).
[2] *Mem. Geol. Survey of India*, xxxi, part ii.

principles of physical geography and shows how, given a dwindling rainfall in a tract situated like Eastern Persia and Baluchistān, evaporation is bound to produce the present condition of perennial drought. As the rainfall declines, fertile plains relapse into desert; lakes are transformed into salt marshes; the springs in the hills dry up; and an era of desolation sets in. In illustration of the state of things which must have existed in some former age, Mr. Vredenburg tells us how in the desolate valleys of Khārān (Kalāt State) there exist hundreds of stone walls, known locally as *gabrbands* or 'dams of the infidel,' which mark the edges of ancient terraced fields and retain even now remnants of soil that once was cultivated. Arguing from what one sees in India, it seems likely that these terraced fields represent the overflow of a flourishing agricultural community, driven up into the hills by the pressure of population in the plains. Gradually, as the climate changed, the level alluvial tracts, deprived of rainfall, lapsed into desert; the bulk of the population drifted on into the Punjab; while those who remained behind eked out by pillage the meagre livelihood to be won from patches of soil in the hills. Last of all, the springs on which this scanty cultivation depended shrank and disappeared, till nothing was left but the stone walls to recall the labours of the forgotten people who built them.

The picture, which these observations enables us to construct, of a country of lakes and fertile plains extending from the centre of Persia to the western confines of India, may help to throw light upon the problem of the Indo-Aryan advance into the Punjab. The population of such a tract, as they began to press on their own means of subsistence or were pushed forward by incursions from the west, would naturally have moved on by tribes and families without any disturbance of their social order, and would have occupied the valley of the Indus. Arriving there as an organized society, like the children of Israel when they entered Palestine, they would have had no need to take to themselves any Dravidian daughters of Heth, and they would have preserved their type as distinct as we find it in the Punjab to-day. The movement must of course have been gradual, and must have extended over many centuries, during which time the climate continued to dry up, and the possibilities of agriculture to decline. When the new conditions had become fully established, the north-western frontier of India was closed to the slow advance of family or tribal migration, and remained open only to bands of fighting men or adven-

turoüs nomads, who could force their way through long zones of waterless deserts ending in a maze of robber-haunted hills. Armed invasion took the place of peaceful colonization. But the invaders, however great their strength, could in any case bring few women in their train. This is the determining factor both of the ethnology and of the history of India. As each wave of conquerors—Greek, Scythian, Arab, Afghān, Mughal—that entered the country by land became more or less absorbed in the indigenous population, their physique changed, their individuality vanished, their energy was sapped, and dominion passed from their hands into those of more vigorous successors.

The Aryo-Dravidians: Dr. Hoernle's theory.

For the origin of the Aryo-Dravidian type, we need not travel beyond the ingenious hypothesis put forward by Dr. Hoernle twenty years ago and confirmed by the recent researches of Dr. Grierson's Linguistic Survey. This theory supposes that after the first swarm of Indo-Aryans had occupied the Punjab, a second wave of Aryan-speaking people, the remote ancestors of the Aryo-Dravidians of to-day, impelled by some ethnic upheaval, or driven forward by the change of climate in Central Asia, made their way into India through Gilgit and Chitrāl and established themselves in the plains of the Ganges and Jumna, the sacred Middle-land (*Madhyadesa*) of post-Vedic tradition. Here they came in contact with the Dravidians; here, by the stress of that contact, caste was evolved; here the Vedas were composed, and the whole fantastic structure of orthodox ritual and usage was built up. The linguistic evidence in favour of this view is summarized in Dr. Grierson's chapter on Language in the *Report on the Census of India*, 1901. For the present purpose it is sufficient to note that the record of physical characters bears out the conclusions suggested by philology. The type of the people now dwelling in the Middle-land is precisely what might have been expected to result from the incursion of a fair long-headed race, travelling by a route which prevented women from accompanying them, into a land inhabited by dark-skinned Dravidians. The men of the stronger race took to themselves the women of the weaker, and from these unions was evolved the mixed type which we find in Hindustān and Bihār. The degree of intermixture necessarily varied: at one end of the scale the type approaches the Indo-Aryan, at the other it almost merges in the Dravidian.

It may be said that the theory of a second wave of Aryans, resting as it does on the somewhat uncertain data of philology, is not really required for the purpose of explaining the facts. Why should we not content ourselves by assuming that the

original Indo-Aryans outgrew their settlements on the Indus, and threw off swarms of emigrants who passed down the Ganges valley, modifying their type as they went by alliances with the Dravidian inhabitants? But on this view of the problem it is difficult to account for the marked divergence of type that distinguishes the people of the Eastern Punjab from those of Western Hindustān. If there had been no second and distinct incursion, coming in like a wedge behind the original colonists, no such sharp contrast would now be discernible. One type would melt into the other by imperceptible gradations, and scientific observation and popular impressions would not concur, as they do, in affirming that a marked change takes place somewhere about the longitude of Sirhind. Nor is this the only point in favour of Dr. Hoernle's hypothesis. It further explains how it is that the Vedic Hymns contain no reference to the route by which the Aryans entered India, or to their earlier settlements on the Indus; and it accounts for the antagonism between the eastern and western sections, and for the fact that the latter were regarded as comparative barbarians by the more cultured inhabitants of the Middle-land.

The Mongolo-Dravidians. When we leave Bihār and pass eastward into the steamy rice-fields of Bengal, the Indo-Aryan element thins out rapidly and appears only in a sporadic form. The bulk of the population is Dravidian, modified by a strain of Mongoloid blood which is relatively strong in the east and appreciably weaker in the west. Even here, however, where the Indo-Aryan factor is so small as to be hardly traceable, certain exceptions may be noticed. The tradition, cherished by the Brāhmans and Kāyasths of Bengal, that their ancestors came from Kanauj at the invitation of King Adisura to introduce Vedic ritual into an unhallowed region, is borne out to a substantial degree by the measurements of these castes, though even among them indications are not wanting of occasional intermixture with Dravidians. If, however, the regional type is regarded as a whole, the racial features are seen to be comparatively distinct. The physical degeneration which has taken place may be due to the influence of a relaxing climate and an enfeebling diet, and still more perhaps to the practice of marrying immature children, the great blot on the social system of the upper classes of Bengal.

The Scytho-Dravidian type. Of the foreign elements that have contributed to the making of the Indian peoples two have now been passed in review. We have seen the Indo-Aryan type maintaining a high degree

of purity in the Punjab and Rājputāna, transformed by an increasing admixture of Dravidian blood in Hindustān and Bihār, and vanishing beyond recognition in the swamps of Lower Bengal. We have found the Mongoloid races predominant on the eastern and northern frontiers: confined to the hills where the people of the plains were strong; but farther east, where they came in contact with feebler folk, mixing with the Dravidian element to form the type characteristic of the mass of the population of Bengal and Assam. A third foreign element still remains to be accounted for. It has long been known, mainly from Chinese sources, supplemented by the evidence of coins and the uncertain testimony of Indian tradition, that, long after the settlement of the Indo-Aryans in the Punjab, successive swarms of nomadic people, vaguely designated Sakas or Scythians, forced a way into India from the west, and established their dominion over portions of the Punjab, Sind, Gujarāt, Rājputāna, and Central India. The impulse which started them on their wanderings may be traced in some instances to tribal upheavals in far-distant China, while in other cases bands already on the move were pushed forward from Central Asia. All these peoples came from regions which, so far as we know, have from time immemorial been occupied by broad-headed races.

Historical record of Scythian invasions of India.

In the time of the Achaemenian kings of Persia, the Scythians, who were known to the Chinese as Sse, occupied the regions lying between the lower course of the Sillis or Jaxartes and Lake Balkash. The fragments of early Scythian history which may be collected from classical writers are supplemented by the Chinese annals, which tell us how the Sse, originally located in Southern China, occupied Sogdiana and Transoxiana at the time of the establishment of the Graeco-Bactrian monarchy. Dislodged from these regions by the Yueh-chi, who had themselves been put to flight by the Huns, the Sse invaded Bactriana, an enterprise in which they were frequently allied with the Parthians. To this circumstance, says Ujfalvy, may be due the resemblance which exists between the Scythian coins of India and those of the Parthian kings. At a later period the Yueh-chi made a further advance and drove the Sse or Sakas out of Bactriana, whereupon the latter crossed the Paropamisus and took possession of the country called after them Sakastān, comprising Segistān, Arachosia, and Drangiana. But they were left in possession only for a hundred years, for about 25 B.C. the Yueh-chi disturbed them afresh. A body of Scythians

then emigrated eastward and founded a kingdom in the western portion of the Punjab. The route they followed in their advance upon India is uncertain; but to a people of their habits it would seem that the march through Baluchistān would have presented no serious difficulty.

The Yueh-chi, afterwards known as the Tokhāri, were a power in Central Asia and the north-west of India for more than five centuries, from 130 B.C. The Hindus called them Sakas and Turushkas, but their kings seem to have known no other dynastic title than that of Kushan. The Chinese annals tell us how Kitolo, chief of the Little Kushans, whose name is identified with the Kidāra of the coins, giving way before the incursions of the Ephthalites, crossed the Paropamisus and founded, in the year 425 of our era, the kingdom of Gandhāra, of which, in the time of his son, Peshāwar became the capital. About the same time, the Ephthalites or Ye-tha-i-li-to of the Chinese annals, driven out of their territory by the Yuan-Yuan, started westward and overran in succession Sogdiana, Khwārizm (Khiva), Bactriana, and finally the north-west portion of India. Their movements reached India in the reign of Skanda Gupta (452–80) and brought about the disruption of the Gupta empire. The Ephthalites were known in India as Huns. The leader of the invasion of India, who succeeded in snatching Gandhāra from the Kushans and established his capital at Sākala, is called by the Chinese Laelih, and inscriptions enable us to identify him with the original Lakhan Udayāditya of the coins. His son Toramāna (490–515) took possession of Gujarāt, Rājputāna, and part of the Ganges valley, and in this way the Huns acquired a portion of the ancient Gupta kingdom. Toramāna's successor, Mihirakula (515–44), eventually succumbed to the combined attack of the Hindu princes of Mālwā and Magadha.

Possible origin of the Scytho-Dravidian type.

These are the historical data. Scanty as they are, they serve to establish the fact that, during a long period of time, swarms of nomadic people, whose outlandish names are conveniently summed up in the generic term Scythian, poured into India, conquered, and governed. Their coins are now the sole memorial of their rule, but their inroads probably began centuries before coins were struck or annals compiled. Of the people themselves all traces seem to have vanished, and the student who inquires what has become of them finds nothing more tangible than the modern conjecture that they are represented by the Jāts and Rājputs. But the grounds for this opinion are of the flimsiest description, and consist mainly

of the questionable assumption that the people who are called Jāts or Jats at the present day must have something to do with the people who were known to Herodotus as Getae. Now apart from the fact that resemblances of names are often misleading—witness the Roman identification of these very Getae with the Goths—we have good historical reasons for believing that the Scythian invaders of India came from a region occupied exclusively by broad-headed races and must themselves have belonged to that type. They were by all accounts hordes of horsemen, short and sturdy of stature, and skilled in the use of the bow. In their original homes on the Central Asian steppes their manner of life was that of pastoral nomads, and their instincts were of the predatory order. It seems, therefore, unlikely that their descendants should be found among tribes who are essentially of the long-headed type, tall heavy men without any natural aptitude for horsemanship, settled agriculturists with no traditions of a nomadic and marauding past. Still less probable is it that waves of foreign conquerors, entering India at a date when the Indo-Aryans had long been an organized community, should have been absorbed by them so completely as to take rank among their most typical representatives, while the form of their heads, the most persistent of racial distinctions, was transformed from the extreme of one type to the extreme of another without leaving any trace of transitional forms in the process. Such are the contradictions which beset the attempt to identify the Scythians with the Jāts and Rājputs. The only escape seems to lie in an alternative hypothesis which is suggested by the measurements. These data show that a zone of broad-headed people may still be traced southwards, from the region of the Western Punjab in which we lose sight of the Scythians, right through the Deccan, till it attains its farthest extension among the Coorgs. Is it not conceivable that this may mark the track of the Scythians, who first occupied the great grazing country of the Western Punjab, and then, pressed upon by later invaders and finding their progress eastwards blocked by the Indo-Aryans, turned towards the south, mingled with the Dravidian population, and became the ancestors of the Marāthās? The physical type of the people of this region accords fairly well with this theory, while the arguments derived from language and religion do not seem to conflict with it. For, after entering India, the Scythians readily adopted an Aryan language, written in the Kharosthi character, and accepted Buddhism as their religion. Their Prākrit speech would have

developed into Marāthī, while their Buddhistic doctrines would have been absorbed in that fusion of magic and metaphysics which has resulted in popular Hinduism. On this view the wide-ranging forays of the Marāthās, their guerilla methods of warfare, their unscrupulous dealings with friend and foe, their genius for intrigue and their consequent failure to build up an enduring dominion, might well be regarded as inherited from their Scythian ancestors.

Social divisions: the tribe.

Up to this point we have been dealing with the racial divisions of the people of India, with ethnology properly so called. We now turn to their social divisions, to the ethnographic data as distinguished from the ethnological. These divisions are either tribes or castes, which in their turn are further subdivided, with reference usually to matrimonial considerations. A tribe, as we find it in India, is a collection of families, or groups of families, bearing a common name which, as a rule, does not denote any specific occupation; generally claiming common descent from a mythical or historical ancestor and occasionally from an animal, but in some parts of the country held together rather by the obligations of blood-feud than by the tradition of kinship; usually speaking the same language; and occupying, or claiming to occupy, a definite tract of country. A tribe is not necessarily endogamous, i.e. it is not an invariable rule that a man of a particular tribe must marry a woman of that tribe.

We may distinguish several kinds of tribes in various parts of India; and although it cannot be said that each of the seven racial types has its own distinctive form of tribe, the correspondence between the two sets of groupings is sufficiently close to warrant the conjecture that each type was originally organized on a characteristic tribal basis, and that where tribes have disappeared, their disappearance has been effected by caste insensibly absorbing and transforming the tribal divisions which it found in possession of particular localities. In describing the varieties of tribes we shall therefore follow the ethnic types already determined by physical characters.

The Dravidian tribe.

The Dravidian tribe exists in its most compact and vigorous form among the people of Chotā Nāgpur. Such a tribe is usually divided into a number of exogamous groups, each of which bears the name of an animal or plant common in the locality. Usually, also, there is a distinct village organization, comprising in its most developed forms a headman with his assistant, and a priest, with various acolytes, whose business it is to propitiate the undefined powers from whom physical ills

are to be apprehended. Another remarkable instance of the tribal organization of the Dravidians is to be found among the Khonds of Orissa, once infamous for the human sacrifices which they offered to propitiate the earth goddess, with the object of ensuring good crops and immunity from disease and accidents. The Khonds are divided into fifty *gochis* or exogamous septs, each of which bears the name of a *muta* or village, believes all its members to be descended from a common ancestor, and as a rule dwells in the commune or group of villages after which it is called. The Khond *gochi* appears, therefore, to represent the nearest approach that has yet been discovered to the local exogamous tribe, believed by Mr. McLennan to be the primitive unit of human society.

The Mongoloid tribe.

The Mongoloid type of tribe, as found in the Nāgā Hills, is divided, somewhat on the Khond pattern, into a number of *khels*, each of which is in theory an exogamous group of blood-relations, dwelling apart in its own territory and more or less at war with the rest of the world. Each *khel* fortifies the locality which it inhabits with a stockade, a deep ditch full of bamboo calthrops, and a craftily devised ladder; and raids are constantly made by one upon the other for the purpose of capturing wives. So far as our present researches have gone, no very clear traces have been found of totemism among the Mongoloid races of India; but the Mongoloid people of the Eastern Himālayas and the Chittagong Hills have a singular system of exogamous groups based upon real or mythical ancestors.

The Turko-Irānian tribes: the Afghān type.

Among the Turko-Irānians there seem to bé two distinct types of tribe. The first comprises tribes based upon kinship, like the Afghān group of tribes known as Pathāns, or speakers of the Pashtū language. In theory, says Mr. Hughes-Buller[1], 'an Afghān tribe is constituted from a number of kindred groups of agnates. . . . Affiliated with a good many tribes, however, are to be found a certain number of alien groups.' These are not descended from the common ancestor, and the nature of the tie that binds them to the tribe is best expressed in a picturesque phrase which describes them as 'partners for better or worse': in other words, active participators in any blood-feud that the tribe may have on its hands. Yet such is the influence of the idea of kinship upon which the tribe is based, that the alien origin of these groups is admitted with reluctance, and although for matrimonial purposes they are

[1] *Baluchistān Census Report*, 1901.

looked upon as inferior, the tendency is to merge the fact of common vendetta in the fiction of common blood.

The Baloch and Brāhui type.

The second type of Turko-Irānian tribe is based primarily not upon agnatic kinship, but upon common good and ill: in other words, it is cemented together only by the obligations arising from the blood-feud. There is no eponymous ancestor, and the tribe itself does not profess to be composed of homogeneous elements. In the case of the Marri tribe of Baloch, Mr. Hughes-Buller has shown that 'Brāhuis, Baloch from the Punjab, Baloch from other parts of Afghānistān, Khetrāns, Afghāns, Jats, all gained easy admission to the tribe. . . . The process is easy to follow: admission to participation in common blood-feud; then admission to participation in the tribal land; and lastly admission to kinship with the tribe. It was not until after a man or group had been given a share of tribal land at the decennial distribution that women were given to him or them in marriage.' The same principles hold good in the case of the Brāhui, who, like the Baloch, appear by their history and physique to be of Central Asian origin, and whose numbers have been recruited from among Afghāns, Kūrds, Jadgāls, Baloch, and other elements, all probably belonging to the same ethnic stock. Both Baloch and Brāhui possess an elaborate organization for offensive and defensive purposes, based in each case on the principle that the clan, or section, must provide for the service of the tribe a number of armed men proportioned to the share of the tribal land which it holds.

None of the numerous tribes comprised under the names Afghān, Baloch, or Brāhui are strictly endogamous; and stalwart aliens whose services are considered worth having are admitted into the tribe by the gift of a wife, or perhaps one should rather say the loan, for, in the absence of stipulations to the contrary, a woman so given goes back to her own family on the death of her husband. Among the Baloch and Brāhui, however, a distinct tendency towards endogamy results from the practice of marrying a woman of the same group—if possible, a first cousin. This seems to be due partly to the feeling that a woman's marriage to an outsider deprives the tribe of the accession of strength that may accrue to it from her offspring; and partly also, as Mr. Hughes-Buller observes, to the belief that 'while among animals heredity follows the father, among human beings it follows the mother. It is argued, therefore, that there is more hope of the stock remaining pure if a man marries a woman who is nearly related to

him.' In marked contrast to the Baloch and Brāhui, the business instincts of the Afghān lead him to regard women as a marketable commodity, and under the system of *walwar*, or payment for wives, 'girls are sold to the highest bidder, no matter what his social status.'

The word 'caste.'

The word 'caste,' which has obtained such a wide currency in the literature of sociology, comes from the Portuguese adventurers who followed Vasco da Gama to the west coast of India. The word itself is derived from the Latin *castus* and implies purity of breed. In his article on caste in *Hobson-Jobson*, Sir Henry Yule quotes a decree of the sacred council of Goa, dated 1567, which recites how 'the Gentoos divide themselves into distinct races or castes (*castas*) of greater or less dignity, holding the Christians as of lower degree, and keep these so superstitiously that no one of a higher caste can eat or drink with those of a lower.' It was natural enough that foreign observers should seize upon the superficial aspects of a social system which they understood but imperfectly, and should have overlooked the essential fact that the regulations affecting food and drink are comparatively fluid and transitory, while those relating to marriage are remarkably stable and absolute.

Definition of caste.

A caste may be defined as a collection of families or groups of families, bearing a common name which usually denotes or is associated with a specific occupation; claiming common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine; professing to follow the same calling; and regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community. A caste is almost invariably endogamous in the sense that a member of the large circle denoted by the common name may not marry outside that circle; but within this circle there are usually a number of smaller circles, each of which is also endogamous. Thus, it is not enough to say that a Brāhman at the present day cannot marry any woman who is not a Brāhman: his wife must also belong to the same endogamous division of the Brāhman caste.

Conversion of tribes into castes.

All over India at the present moment we can trace the gradual and almost insensible transformation of tribes into castes. The main agency at work is fiction, which, in this instance, takes the form of the pretence that whatever usage prevails to-day has been so from the beginning of time. It may be hoped that the Ethnographic Survey now in progress will throw much more light upon these singular forms of evolution, by which large masses of people surrender a condition of

comparative freedom, and take in exchange a condition which becomes more burdensome in proportion as its status is higher. So far as present observation goes, several distinct processes are involved in the movement, and these proceed independently in different places and at different times:—

(1) The leading men of an aboriginal tribe, having somehow got on in the world and become independent landed proprietors, manage to enrol themselves in one of the more distinguished castes. They usually set up as Rājputs, their first step being to start a Brāhman priest who invents for them a mythical ancestor, supplies them with a family miracle connected with the locality where their tribes are settled, and discovers that they belong to some hitherto unheard-of clan of the great Rājput community. In the earlier stages of their advancement they generally find great difficulty in getting their daughters married, as they will not take husbands from their original tribe and real Rājputs will not condescend to alliances with them. But after a generation or two their persistency obtains its reward and they intermarry, if not with pure Rājputs, at least with a superior order of manufactured Rājputs whose promotion into Brāhmanical society dates far enough back for the steps by which it was gained to have been forgotten. Thus a real change of blood may take place, while in any case the tribal name is completely lost, and with it all possibility of correctly separating this class of people from the Hindus of purer blood and of tracing them to any particular Dravidian or Mongoloid tribe. They have been absorbed in the fullest sense of the word, and henceforth pass and are locally accepted as high-class Hindus. All stages of the process, family miracle and all, can be illustrated by actual instances taken from the leading families in Chotā Nāgpur.

(2) A number of aborigines, as we may conveniently call them, though the term begs an insoluble question, embrace the tenets of a Hindu religious sect, losing thereby their tribal name and becoming Vaishnavas, Lingāyats, Rāmāyats, or the like. Whether there is any mixture of blood or not will depend upon local circumstances and the rules of the sect regarding intermarriage. Anyhow, the identity of the converts as aborigines is usually, though not invariably, lost, and this also may, therefore, be regarded as a case of true absorption.

(3) A whole tribe of aborigines, or a large section of a tribe, enrol themselves in the ranks of Hinduism under the style of a new caste which, though claiming an origin of remote anti-

quity, is readily distinguishable by its name from any of the standard and recognized castes. Thus the great majority of the Koch inhabitants of Jalpaigurī, Rangpur, and part of Dinājpur now invariably describe themselves as Rājbansis or Bhanga Kshattriyas, a designation which enables them to represent themselves as an outlying branch of the Kshattriyas who fled to North-eastern Bengal in order to escape from the wrath of Parasu Rāma. They claim descent from Rājā Dasaratha, father of Rāma; they keep Brāhmans, imitate the Brāhmanic rituals in their marriage ceremony, and have begun to adopt the Brāhmanical system of *gotras*. In respect of this last point they are now in a curious state of transition, as they have all hit upon the same *gotra* (Kāsyapa) and thus habitually transgress the primary rule of the Brāhmanical system, which absolutely prohibits marriage within the *gotra*. But for this defect in their connubial arrangements—a defect which will probably be corrected in course of time as they and their priests rise in intelligence—there would be nothing in their customs to distinguish them from Indo-Aryan Hindus, although there has been no mixture of blood and they remain thoroughly Koch.

(4) A whole tribe of aborigines, or a section of a tribe, become gradually converted to Hinduism without, like the Rājbansis, abandoning their tribal designation. This is what has happened among the Bhumij of Western Bengal. Here a pure Dravidian race have lost their original language and now speak only Bengali; they worship Hindu gods in addition to their own (the tendency being to relegate the tribal gods to the women), and the more advanced among them employ Brāhmans as family priests. They still retain a set of totemistic exogamous subdivisions, closely resembling those of the Mundās and the Santāls; but they are beginning to forget the totems which the names of the subdivisions denote, and the names themselves will probably soon be abandoned in favour of more aristocratic designations. The tribe will then have become a caste in the full sense of the word, and will go on stripping itself of all customs likely to betray its true descent: the physical characteristics of its members will alone survive. With their transformation into a caste, the Bhumij will be more strictly endogamous than they were as a tribe, and even less likely to modify their physical type by intermarriage with other races.

Types of caste.

By such processes as these, and by a variety of complex social influences whose working cannot be precisely traced,

a number of types or varieties of caste have been formed, which admit of being grouped as follows:—

(i) Tribal castes.

(i) *The tribal type*, where a tribe like the Bhumij has insensibly been converted into a caste, preserving its original name and many of its characteristic customs, but modifying its animistic practices more and more in the direction of orthodox Hinduism, and ordering its manner of life in accordance with the same model. Numerous instances of this process are to be found all over India: it has been at work for centuries, and it has even been supposed that the Sūdras of Indo-Aryan tradition were originally a Dravidian tribe which was thus incorporated into the social system of the conquering race. We may mention as examples of such transformation the Ahīr, Dom, and Dosādh of the United Provinces and Bihār; the Gūjar, Jāt, Meo, and Rājput of Rājputāna and the Punjab; the Kolī and Mahār of Bombay; the Bāgdi, Bauri, Chandāl (Namasūdra), Kaibartta, Pod, and Rājbansi-Koch of Bengal; and, in Madras, the Māl, Nāyar, Vellāla, and Paraiyan (Pariah), of whom the last retain traditions of a time when they possessed an independent organization of their own and had not been relegated to a low place in the Hindu social system.

(ii) Functional castes.

(ii) *The functional or occupational type* of caste is so numerous and so widely diffused, and its characteristics are so prominent, that community of function is ordinarily regarded as the chief factor in the evolution of caste. Almost every caste professes to have a traditional occupation, though many of its members have abandoned it, and the adoption of new occupations, or of changes in the original occupation, may give rise to subdivisions of the caste which ultimately develop into castes entirely distinct. Thus among the large castes, the Ahīrs are by tradition herdsmen; the Brāhmans, priests, the Chamārs and Muchis, workers in leather; the Chuhrās, Bhangīs, and Doms, scavengers; the Dosādhs, village watchmen and messengers; the Goālās or Golās, milkmen; the Kaibarttas and Kewats, fishermen and cultivators; the Kāyasths, writers; the Koiri and Kāchhī, market gardeners; the Kumhārs, potters; the Pods, fishermen; and the Teli and Tili, oil-pressers and traders in oil. But the proportion of a caste that actually follows the traditional occupation may vary greatly. It is shown in the *Bengal Census Report* of 1901 that 80 per cent. of the Ahīrs in Bihār are engaged in agriculture; that of the Lower Bengal Brāhmans only 17 per cent., and of the Bihār Brāhmans only 8 per cent.,

perform religious functions; that only 8 per cent. of the Chamārs in Bihār live by working in leather, the remainder being cultivators or general labourers; that two-thirds of the Kāyasths in Bengal are agriculturists; and that only 35 per cent. of the Telis follow their traditional profession. A remarkable instance of the formation of a caste on the basis of distinctive occupation is supplied by the Gārpagāri, or hail-averters, in the Marāthā Districts of the Central Provinces, village servants whose duty it is to control the elements and protect the crops from the destructive hail-storms which are frequent in that part of India. Changes of occupation in their turn, more especially among the lower castes, tend, as above mentioned, to bring about the formation of separate castes. The Sadgops of Bengal have, within recent times, taken to agriculture and broken away from the pastoral caste to which they originally belonged; the educated Kaibarttas and Pods are in course of separating themselves from their brethren who have not learnt English; the Madhu-nāpit are barbers who became confectioners; the Chāsā-dhobās are washermen who took to agriculture.

(iii) Sectarian castes.

(iii) *The sectarian type* comprises a small number of castes which commenced life as religious sects founded by philanthropic enthusiasts who, having evolved some metaphysical formula offering a speedier release from the *taedium vitae* which oppresses the East, had further persuaded themselves that all men were equal, or at any rate that all believers in their teaching ought to be so. As time went on, the practical difficulties of realizing this ideal forced themselves upon the members of the sect; they found their company becoming unduly mixed; and they proceeded to reorganize themselves on the lines of an ordinary caste. A notable instance of this tendency to revert to the normal type of Hindu society is to be found in the present condition of the Lingāyat or Vīra Saiva caste of Bombay and Southern India, which numbers 2,600,000 adherents. Founded as a sect in the twelfth century, by a reformer who proclaimed the equality of all who received the eightfold sacrament ordained by him, and wore on their persons the mystic *phallus* emblematic of the god Siva, the Lingāyat community had begun, by the close of the seventeenth century, to develop endogamous sub-castes based upon the social distinctions which their founder had expressly abjured. At the last Census the process of transforming the sect into a caste had advanced still farther. In a petition presented to the Government of India the members of the Lingāyat

community protested against the 'most offensive and mischievous order' that all of them should be entered in the census papers as belonging to the same caste, and asked that they might be recorded as Vīra Saiva Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas, or Sūdras, as the case might be. It would be difficult to find a better illustration of the essentially particularist instinct of the Indian people, of the aversion with which they regard the doctrine that all men are equal, and of the attraction exercised by the aristocratic scheme of society which their ancient traditions enshrine. The legend of the four original castes may have no historical foundation, but there can be no question as to the spread of its influence or the strength of the sentiment which it still inspires. So long, in short, as the sectarian instinct confines itself to expressing a mere predilection for one god rather than another, or simply develops a new cult, however fantastic, which permits men to indulge in the luxury of religious eccentricity without quitting the narrow circle of their social environment, its operations are undisturbed and the sects which it forms may flourish and endure. But directly it invades the social sphere and seeks to unify and amalgamate groups of theoretically different origin, it comes in contact with a force too strong for it and has to give way.

(iv) Castes formed by crossing.

(iv) *Castes formed by crossing.*—Modern criticism has been especially active in its attacks on that portion of the traditional theory which derives the multitude of mixed or inferior castes from an intricate series of crosses between members of the original four. No one can examine the long lists which purport to illustrate the working of this process without being struck by much that is absurd and inconsistent. But in India it does not necessarily follow that, because the individual applications of a principle are ridiculous, the principle itself must have no foundation in fact. The last thing that would occur to the literary theorists of those times, or to their successors the pandits of to-day, would be to go back upon actual facts, and to seek by analysis and comparison to work out the true stages of evolution. They found the *a priori* method simpler and more congenial. Having once got hold of a formula, they insisted, like Thales and his contemporaries, on making it account for the entire order of things. Thus castes which were compact tribes, castes which had been developed out of trade corporations, and castes which expressed the distinction between fishing and hunting, agriculture and handicrafts, were all supposed to have been evolved by

interbreeding. But the initial principle, though it could not be stretched to explain everything, nevertheless enshrines a grain of historical fact. It happens that we can still observe its workings among a number of Dravidian tribes which, though not yet drawn into the vortex of Brāhmanism, have been in some degree affected by the example of Hindu organization. As regards inter-tribal marriages, these seem to be in a stage of development through which the Hindus themselves have passed. A man may marry a woman of another tribe; but the offspring of such unions do not become members of either the paternal or maternal groups, but belong to a distinct endogamous aggregate, the name of which often denotes the precise cross by which it was started. Among the large tribe of Mundās we find, for instance, nine such groups, whose names denote descent from intermarriages between Mundā men and women of other tribes. Illustrations of this sort might be multiplied almost indefinitely. The point to be observed is that the sub-tribes formed by inter-tribal crossing are from an early stage complete endogamous units, and that they tend continually to sever their slender connexion with the parent group and to stand forth as independent tribes.

Within the limits of the regular caste system, Mr. Gait (*Bengal Census Report*, 1901) mentions the Shāgirdpeshas of Bengal as a true caste 'which takes its origin from miscegenation, and which is still adding to its numbers in the same way. Amongst the members of the higher castes of Orissa who do not allow widow remarriage, and also amongst the Kāyasth immigrants from Bengal, it is a common practice to take as maid-servants and concubines women belonging to the lower clean castes, such as Chāsa and Bhandāri. The offspring of these maid-servants are known as Shāgirdpesha (servants). They form a regular caste of the usual type, and are divided into endogamous groups with reference to the caste of the male parent. . . . The caste of the mother makes no difference in the rank of the children, but those who can count several generations from their original progenitor rank higher than those in whose case the stigma of illegitimacy is more recent. . . . The relationship between the legitimate children of a man of good caste and their bastard brothers and sisters is recognized, but the latter cannot eat with the former.' In spite of its number (about 47,000), this caste is said to be of quite recent origin, and it is asserted that it did not exist a century and a half ago. An older and more instructive illustration, dating possibly from long before the

Christian era, of the formation of a caste by crossing, is furnished by the Khas of Nepāl, who appear to be the offspring of mixed marriages between Rājput or Brāhman immigrants and the Mongolian women of the country.

(v) National castes.

(v) *Castes of the national type.*—Where there is neither nation nor national sentiment, it may seem paradoxical to talk about a national type of caste. There exist, however, certain groups, usually regarded as castes at the present day, which cherish traditions of bygone sovereignty, and seem to preserve traces of an organization considerably more elaborate than that of an ordinary tribe. The Newārs, a mixed people of Mongoloid origin, who were the predominant race in Nepāl proper until the country was conquered and annexed by the Gurkha Prithwī Nārāyan in 1769, may be taken as an illustration of such a survival. The group comprises both Hindus and Buddhists. The two communities are quite distinct and each is divided into an elaborate series of castes.

If the Marāthās can be described as a caste, their history and traditions certainly stamp them as a caste of the national type. They numbered five million at the 1901 Census: 3,650,000 in Bombay, 1,100,000 in Hyderābād, 81,000 in Madras, 53,000 in Mysore, 61,000 in the Central Provinces and Berār, and 34,000 in Central India. According to Mr. Enthoven (*Bombay Census Report*, 1901), the Bombay Marāthās 'may be classified as a tribe with two divisions, Marāthā and Marāthā Kunbī, of which the former are hypergamous to the latter, but were not originally distinct. It remains to be explained that the Kunbīs also consist of two divisions: Desh Kunbīs, numbering 1,900,000, and Konkani Kunbīs, of whom there are 350,000 recorded. Intermarriage between these divisions is not usual. The barrier, however, seems to be purely geographical. It may not withstand the altered conditions due to improvements in communications, and it is not apparently based on any religious prohibition of intermarriages.' The highest class of Marāthās is supposed to consist of ninety-six families, who profess to be of Rājput descent and to represent the Kshattriyas of the traditional system. They wear the sacred thread, marry their daughters before puberty, and forbid widows to marry again. But their claim to kinship with the Rājputs is effectually refuted by the anthropometric data now published, and by the survival among them of *kuldevaks* or totems, such as the sunflower, the *kadamba* tree, the mango, the conch-shell, the peacock's feather, and turmeric, which are worshipped at marriages and at the cere-

mony of dedicating a new house, while their close connexion with the Kunbīs is attested by the fact that they take Kunbī girls as wives, though they do not give their own daughters to Kunbī men. A wealthy Kunbī, however, occasionally gains promotion to the higher grade and claims brevet rank as a Kshattriya. The fact seems to be that these superior families represent Kunbīs who came to the front under Muhammadan rule, or during the decline of the Mughal Empire won for themselves offices or estates, claimed the rank of landed gentry, and asserted their dignity by refusing their daughters to their less distinguished brethren.

(vi) Castes formed by migration.

(vi) *Castes formed by migration.*—If members of a caste leave their original habitat and settle permanently in another part of India, they tend to develop into a distinct caste. The stages of the process are readily traced. In the first instance it is assumed that people who live in foreign parts must of necessity eat forbidden food, worship alien gods, and enter into relations with strange women. Consequently when they wish to take wives from among their own people, they find that their social status has been lowered and that they must pay for the privilege of marrying within the parent group. This luxury grows more and more expensive, and in course of time the emigrants marry only among themselves and thus become a sub-caste, usually distinguished by a territorial name, such as Jaunpuriā, Tirhutiā, Bārendra, and the like.

A good illustration of the formation of a caste by migration is to be found in the traditions of the Nambūdri or Nampūtiri Brāhmans of Malabar. These Brāhmans claim to have come to the west coast from various sacred localities in Kāthiāwār and the Northern Deccan. Mr. F. Fawcett describes them as 'the truest Aryans in Southern India,' and their complexion and features seem to lend some support to the tradition which assigns to them a foreign origin. Whatever their original stock may have been, they are now an entirely separate caste, differing from the Brāhmans of most other parts of India by their tendency to polygamy; by their rejection of infant marriage; by their restriction of marriage to the eldest son, the other brothers entering into relations with Nāyar women; and by the curious custom of ceremonial fishing which forms part of the marriage ritual with a certain division of them. Another instance of the same process is furnished by the Rārhi Brāhmans of Bengal. The current legend is that early in the eleventh century A.D., Rājā Adisura or Adisvara, finding the Brāhmans then settled in Bengal too ignorant to perform for

him certain Vedic ceremonies, applied to the Rājā of Kanauj for priests conversant with the sacred ritual of the Aryans. In answer to his request there were sent to him five Brāhmans of Kanauj, who brought with them their wives, their sacred fire, and their sacrificial implements, and from these the Rārhi Brāhmans are descended. Adisura did what the Rājās of outlying and unorthodox tracts of country (such as Bengal was in the eleventh century) have constantly done since and are doing still. A local chief, far removed from the great centres of Brāhmanical lore, somehow becomes aware of his ceremonial shortcomings. He sends for Brāhmans, gives them grants of land near his own residence, and proceeds at their dictation to reform his ways on the model of the devout kings whom Brāhmanical literature holds up as the ideal for a Rājā to follow. The Brāhmans find for him a pedigree of respectable antiquity and provide him with a family legend; and in course of time, by dint of money and diplomacy, he succeeds in getting himself recognized as a member of the local Rājput community. But that does not mean that the real Rājputs will acknowledge his pretensions; nor will the Brāhmans who have attached themselves to his fortunes retain their status among the community from which they have broken off. It will be said of them, as is said of the Brāhman immigrants into Bengal, that they have married local women, eaten forbidden food, adopted strange customs, and forgotten the endless details of the elaborate ritual which they set forth to teach. As priests *in partibus infidelium* they will be regarded with suspicion by the Brāhmans of their original stock: they will have to pay high for brides from among their own people, and eventually will be cut off altogether from the *ius connubii*. When that stage has been reached they will have become to all intents and purposes a separate caste, retaining the generic name of Brāhman, but forming a new species and presenting a distinctive type. And this great change will have been brought about by the simple fact of their abandoning the habitat of their original community.

Occasionally it may happen that social promotion, rather than degradation, results from a change of residence. In Chānda, a remote District of the Central Provinces, a number of persons returned themselves at the 1901 Census as Barwaiks, and it was stated that the Barwaiks were a clan of Rājputs from Orissa who had come to Nāgpur in the train of the Bhonsla Rājās and had taken military service under them. Now in Chotā Nāgpur the Baraiks or Chick-Baraiks are a sub-

caste of the Pāns, the helot weavers and basketmakers who perform a variety of service functions for the organized Dravidian tribes, and used to live in a kind of ghetto in the villages of the Khonds, for whom they purveyed children destined for human sacrifice. The Census Superintendent observes that 'though it is possible that the coincidence may be accidental, still there seems good reason to fear that it is from these humble beginnings that the Barwaik sept of Rājputs in Chānda must trace its extraction. And it is clear that, before the days of railways and the half-anna post, an imposture of this sort must have been practically impossible of detection.'

(vii) Castes formed by changes of custom.

(vii) *Castes formed by changes of custom.*—The formation of new castes as a consequence of neglect of established usage, or the adoption of new ceremonial practices or secular occupations, has been a familiar incident of the caste system from the earliest times. We are told in Manu how men of the three twice-born castes who have not received the sacrament of initiation at the proper time, or who follow forbidden occupations, become Vrātyas or outcasts, intercourse with whom is punished with a double fine, and whose descendants are graded as distinct castes. Living as a Vrātya is a condition involving of itself exclusion from the original caste, and a Brāhman who performs sacrifices for such persons has to do penance. The idea of such changes of status is inherent in the system, and illustrations of its application are plentiful. Sometimes it figures in the traditions of a caste under the form of a claim to a more distinguished origin than is admitted by current opinion. The Skānda Purāna, for example, recounts an episode in Parasu Rāma's raid upon the Kshattriyas, the object of which is to show that the Kāyasths are by birth Kshattriyas of full blood, who by reason of their observing the ceremonies of the Sūdras are called Vrātya or incomplete Kshattriyas. The Bābhans or Bhuinhārs of the United Provinces and Bihār are supposed, according to some legends, to be Brāhmans who lost status by taking to agriculture. At the present day the most potent influence in bringing about elevations or depressions of social status, which may result ultimately in the formation of new castes, is the practice of widow remarriage. With the advance of orthodox ideas that may plausibly be ascribed to the extension of railways and the diffusion of primary education, it dawns upon some members of a particular caste that the custom of marrying widows is highly reprehensible, and, with the assistance of their Brāhmans, they set to work to discourage it. The first step is

to abstain from intermarriage with people who practise the forbidden thing, and thus to form a sub-caste which adopts a high-sounding name derived from some famous locality like Ajodhyā or Kanauj, or describes itself as *Biyāhut* or *Behuta* (the married ones) by way of emphasizing the orthodox character of their matrimonial arrangements. Thus the Awadhiā or Ayodhiā Kurmīs of Bihār, and the Kanaujiā Kurmīs of the United Provinces, pride themselves on prohibiting the remarriage of widows, and are endeavouring to establish a shadowy title to be recognized as some variety of Kshattriya, in pursuance of which, with singular ignorance of the humble origin of the great Marāthā houses, they claim kinship with Sivajī, Sindhia, and the Bhonsla family of Nāgpur. In Bihār they have succeeded in attaining a higher rank than ordinary Kurmīs. But although the Awadhiās have achieved complete practical separation from the main body of Kurmīs, no one accepts them as Kshattriyas or Rājputs, nor are they recognized by Hindu public opinion as forming a distinct caste. In the Punjab the distinction between the Jāts and the Rājputs, both presumably sprung from a common Indo-Aryan stock, is marked by the fact that the former practise, and the latter always abstain from, widow remarriage. The same test applies in the Kāngra Hills, the most exclusively Hindu portion of the Punjab, where Musalmān domination was never fully established. Here the line between the Thakkar and Rāthi castes, both belonging to the lower classes of hill Rājputs, is said to consist in the fact that Rāthis do, and Thakkars do not, ordinarily practise widow marriage. In Southern India movements of the same sort may be observed. Among the begging castes which form nearly 1 per cent. of the population of the Tamil country, the Pandārams rank highest, in virtue of their abstention from meat and alcohol, and more especially of their prohibition of widow marriage.

Totemism. An account will be found in chapter ix of the *Report on the Census of India*, 1901, of what may be called the internal structure of tribes and castes in India—the various endogamous, exogamous, and hypergamous divisions which restrict and regulate matrimony, and form the minor wheels of the vast and intricate machinery by which Hindu society is controlled. It would be tedious to enter here upon a detailed description and analysis of these divisions. But from the point of view of general ethnology considerable interest attaches to one particular kind of division, to those exogamous groups which are based upon totems. The existence of totemism in India on a large scale

has been brought to notice only in recent years; the inquiries instituted in connexion with the Census have added materially to our knowledge of the subject; and special attention is being given to it in the Ethnographic Survey now being conducted in all British Provinces and the more important Native States. At the bottom of the social system, as understood by the average Hindu, we find, mainly in the Dravidian regions of India, a large body of tribes and castes each of which is broken up into a number of totemistic septs. Each sept bears the name of an animal, a tree, a plant, or of some material object, natural or artificial, which the members of that sept are prohibited from tilling, eating, cutting, burning, carrying, using, &c.; and the members of such a sept may not intermarry. In short, totemistic exogamy prevails in India on a fairly large scale and is still in active operation.

Classification of caste.

In a country where the accident of birth determines irrevocably the whole course of a man's social and domestic relations, and he must throughout life eat, drink, dress, marry, and give in marriage in accordance with the usages of the community into which he was born, one is tempted at first sight to assume that the one thing that he may be expected to know with certainty, and to disclose without much reluctance, is the name of the caste, tribe, or nationality to which he belongs. As a matter of fact, no column in the Census schedule displays a more bewildering variety of entries, or gives so much trouble to the enumerating and testing staff and to the central offices which compile the results. If the person enumerated gives the name of a well-known tribe, such as Bhīl or Santāl, or of a standard caste like Brāhman or Kāyasth, all is well. But he may belong to an obscure caste from the other end of India; he may give the name of a sect, of a sub-caste, of an exogamous sept or section, of a hypergamous group; he may mention some titular designation which sounds finer than the name of his caste; he may describe himself by his occupation, or by the Province or tract of country from which he comes. These various alternatives, which are far from exhausting the possibilities of the situation, undergo a series of transformations at the hands of the more or less illiterate enumerator who writes them down in his own vernacular, and the abstractor in the central office who transliterates them into English. Then begins a laborious and most difficult process of sorting, referencing, cross-referencing, and corresponding with local authorities, which ultimately results in the compilation of the Census Table XIII, showing the distribution of the inhabitants

of India by caste, tribe, race, or nationality. The arrangement of this table is alphabetical, and it consists of two parts. The first is a general list of all the groups returned, with their distribution by religion, while the second shows the distribution by Provinces and States of all groups with an aggregate strength of 10,000. An analysis of the 1901 table shows that it includes 2,378 main castes and tribes, and forty-three races or nationalities. With the latter we are not concerned here; as to the former, the question at once arises—on what principle should they be arranged? An alphabetical system is useful for reference, and essential for the purely statistical purposes of a census table. But it does not help in the least towards presenting an intelligible picture of the social grouping of that large proportion of the people of India which is organized, admittedly or tacitly, on the basis of caste.

Principles adopted in the 1901 Census.

Accordingly, the principle adopted in 1901 was that of classification by social precedence, as recognized by native public opinion at the present day, and manifesting itself in the facts that particular castes are supposed to be the modern representatives of one or other of the castes of the theoretical Hindu system; that Brāhmans will take water from certain castes; that Brāhmans of high standing will serve particular castes; that certain castes, though not served by the best Brāhmans, have nevertheless got Brāhmans of their own, whose rank varies according to circumstances; that certain castes are not served by Brāhmans at all, but have their own priests; that the status of certain castes has been raised by their taking to infant marriage or abandoning the remarriage of widows; that the status of some castes has been lowered by living in a particular locality; that the status of others has been modified by their pursuing some occupation in a special or peculiar way; that some can claim the services of the village barber, the village palanquin-bearer, the village midwife, &c., while others cannot; that some castes may not enter the court-yards of certain temples; that some are subject to special taboos, such as that they must not use the village well, or may draw water only with their own vessels, that they must live outside the village or in a separate quarter, that they must leave the road on the approach of a high-caste man or must call out to give warning of their approach. In the case of the Animistic tribes it was mentioned that the prevalence of totemism and the degree of adoption of Hindu usages would serve as ready tests. Most of the Provincial Census Superintendents readily grasped the main idea of the scheme, and

their patient industry, supplemented by the intelligent assistance given by the highest native authorities, has added very greatly to our knowledge of an obscure and intricate subject.

General results.

As no stereotyped scheme of classification was drawn up, but every Province was left to adopt its own system in consultation with local experts and representative men, it is clearly impossible to draw up any general scheme for the whole of India. One might as well try to construct a table of social precedence for Europe which should bring together Spanish grandees, Swiss hotel-keepers, Turkish Pashas, and Stock Exchange millionaires, and should indicate the precise degree of relative distinction attaching to each. The problem in fact is essentially a local one, and India is no more one country than is Europe. The Provincial schemes of classification are summarized in the Appendix to chapter xi of the *Report on the Census of India*, 1901. Although they cannot be reduced to common terms, they exhibit points of resemblance and difference which deserve some further examination. The first point to observe is the predominance throughout India of the influence of the traditional system of four original castes. In every scheme of grouping the Brāhman heads the list. Then come the castes whom popular opinion accepts as the modern representatives of the Kshattriyas, and these are followed by the mercantile groups supposed to be akin to the Vaisyas. When we leave the higher circles of the twice-born, the difficulty of finding a uniform basis of classification becomes apparent. The ancient designation 'Sūdra' finds no great favour in modern times, and we can point to no group that is generally recognized as representing it. The term is used in Bombay, Madras, and Bengal to denote a considerable number of castes of moderate respectability, the higher of whom are considered 'clean' Sūdras, while the precise status of the lower is a question which lends itself to controversy. At this stage of the grouping a sharp distinction may be noticed between Northern India and Bombay and Madras. In Rājputāna, the Punjab, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Bengal, and Assam, the grade next below twice-born rank is occupied by a number of castes from whose hands Brāhmans and members of the higher castes will take water and certain kinds of sweetmeats. Below these again is a rather indeterminate group from whom water is taken by some of the higher castes, but not by others. Farther down, where the test of water no longer applies, the status of a caste depends on the nature of its occupation and its habits in respect of diet. There are castes whose touch defiles the

twice-born, but who do not commit the crowning enormity of eating beef; while below these again in the social system of Northern India are people like Chamārs and Doms, who eat beef and various sorts of miscellaneous vermin. In Western and Southern India the idea that the social status of a caste depends on whether Brāhmans will take water and sweetmeats from its members is unknown, for the higher caste will as a rule take water only from persons of their own caste and sub-caste. In Southern India the idea of ceremonial pollution by the proximity of a member of an unclean caste has been developed with much elaboration. Thus, the table of social precedence attached to the Cochin Report shows that, while a Nāyar can pollute a man of a higher caste only by touching him, people of the Kammālan group, including masons, black-smiths, carpenters, and workers in leather, pollute at a distance of 24 feet, toddy-drawers (Iluvan or Tīyan) at 36 feet, Pulayan or Cheruman cultivators at 48 feet; while in the case of the Paraiyan (Pariah), who eats beef, the range of pollution is stated to be no less than 64 feet.

The subject is examined fully in some of the Provincial Census Reports of 1901, to which the reader is referred for further particulars. No attempt was made to grade every caste. Large classes were formed, and the various groups included in these were arranged in alphabetical order so as to escape the necessity of settling the more delicate questions of precedence. As an illustration of the method of procedure, we may refer to the table of precedence for Bengal proper, which was compiled by Mr. Risley some years ago, and was adopted by Mr. Gait (Census Superintendent, 1901) after careful examination by local committees of native gentlemen appointed for the purpose.

The seven main classes of Hindus in Bengal.

The entire Hindu population of this tract, numbering nineteen millions, has been divided into seven classes. The first class is reserved for the Brāhmans, of whom there are more than a million, forming 6 per cent. of the Hindus of Bengal. As every one knows, there are Brāhmans and Brāhmans, of status varying from the Rārhi, who claim to have been imported by Adisura from Kanauj, to the Barna Brāhmans who serve the lower castes, from whose hands pure Brāhmans will not take water, and to the Vyāsokta Brāhmans who serve the Chāsi Kaibartta caste, and rank so low that even their own clients will not touch food in their houses.

Next in order, at the top of the second class, come the Rājputs, basing their claims to precedence on their supposed

descent from the pure Rājputs of the distant Indo-Aryan tract. Their number (113,405) must include a large proportion of families belonging to local castes who acquired land and assumed the title of Rājput on the strength of their territorial position. Then follow the Baidyas, by tradition physicians, and the writer caste of Kāyasths. The former pose as the modern representatives of the Ambastha of Manu, and assert their superiority to the Kāyasths. The Kāyasths, on the other hand, claim to be Kshattriyas who took to clerical work; deny the identity of the Baidyas with the Ambasthas; and describe them as a local caste, unknown in the great centres of Hinduism, who were Sūdras till about a century ago, when they took to wearing the sacred thread and bribed the Brāhmans to acquiesce in their pretensions.

The third class, numbering three millions, comprises the functional castes originally known as Navasākha (the nine 'branches' or 'arrows') and the other 'clean' Sūdras, from whose hands the higher castes take water, and who are served by high-class Brāhmans. Confectioners, perfume vendors, betel growers, oilmen, gardeners, potters, and barbers figure in this group, the constitution of which appears to have been largely determined by considerations of practical convenience. The preparation of a Hindu meal is a very elaborate performance, involving lengthy ablutions and a variety of ritualistic observances which cannot be performed on a journey; and it is essential to the comfort of the orthodox traveller that he should be able to procure sweetmeats of various kinds without being troubled by misgivings as to the ceremonial cleanliness of the people from whom he buys them. In matters of food and drink caste rules are wisely elastic. It has been held that neither ice nor soda-water counts as water for the purpose of conveying pollution; there are special exemptions in favour of biscuits and patent medicines, for the last of which the Bengali has an insatiable appetite; and in an outlying District where the only palanquin-bearers available were Dravidian Bhuiyās, these have been promoted to the rank of a water-giving (*jalācharaniya*) caste in order that the twice-born traveller might be able to get a drink without quitting his palanquin.

The fourth class includes only two castes—the Chāsi Kaibartta and the Goālā—from whom water is taken by the high castes, but whose Brāhmans are held to be degraded. About the former group Mr. Risley wrote in 1891[1]: 'It seems likely, as time goes on, that this sub-caste will rise in

[1] *Tribes and Castes of Bengal.*

social estimation, and will altogether sink the Kaibartta, so that eventually it is possible that they may succeed in securing a place with the Navasākha.' The forecast has so far been fulfilled that, at the 1901 Census, the Chāsi Kaibartta called themselves Māhisya, the name of the offspring of a legendary cross between Kshattriyas and Vaisyas, and posed as a separate caste.

Class V contains a rather miscellaneous assortment of castes, including the Baishtam, the Sunri, and the Subarnabanik, from whom the higher castes do not usually take water. Their precedence is also defined by the fact that, although the village barber will shave them, he will not cut their toe-nails, nor will he take part in their marriage ceremonies.

The sixth class includes a long list of castes, numbering nearly eight millions, who abstain from eating beef, pork, and fowls, but from whom the higher castes will not take water. They are served by degraded Brāhmans, the regular barbers refuse to shave them, and some of them have special barbers of their own. Most of them, however, can get their clothes washed by the village washerman. The typical members of this group are the Bāgdi (1,032,004), Dravidian cultivators and labourers; the Jeliya or fishing Kaibartta (447,237); the Namasūdra or Chandāl (1,860,914); the Pod (464,921), fishermen and cultivators; and the Rājbansi-Koch (2,065,982), nearly all of whom are small cultivators.

Class VII represents the lowest grade of the Bengal system, castes who eat all manner of unclean food, whose touch pollutes, whom no Brāhman, however degraded, will serve, and for whom neither barber nor washerman will work. It comprises the scavenging Doms and Haris; the leather-working Chamārs and Muchis; and the Bauris, who eat rats and revere the dog as their totem, because, as some of them told Colonel Dalton, it is the right thing to have some sacred animal, and dogs are useful while alive and not very nice to eat when dead.

Caste tendencies among Muhammadans.

Islām, whether regarded as a religious system or as a theory of things, is in every respect the antithesis of Hinduism. Its idea is strenuous action rather than hypnotic contemplation; it allots to man a single life and bids him make the best of it; its practical spirit knows nothing of a series of transmigrations, of *karma*, of the weariness of existence which weighs upon the Hindu mind. For the dream of absorption into an impersonal *Weltgeist* it substitutes a very personal Paradise, made up of joys such as all Orientals understand. On its social side the

religion of Muhammad is equally opposed to the Hindu scheme of a hierarchy of castes, an elaborate stratification of society based upon subtle distinctions of food, drink, dress, marriage, and ceremonial usage. In the sight of God and of His Prophet all followers of Islām are equal. In India, however, caste is in the air; its contagion has spread even to the Muhammadans; and we find its evolution proceeding on characteristically Hindu lines. In both communities foreign descent forms the highest claim to social distinction; in both promotion cometh from the west. As the twice-born Aryan is to the mass of Hindus, so is the Muhammadan of alleged Arab, Persian, Afghān, or Mughal origin to the rank and file of his co religionists. And just as in the traditional Hindu system men of the higher groups could marry women of the lower, while the converse process was vigorously condemned, so, within the higher ranks of the Muhammadans, a Saiyid will marry a Sheikh's daughter but will not give his daughter in return; and intermarriage between the upper circle of *soi-disant* foreigners and the main body of Indian Muhammadans is generally reprobated, except in parts of the country where the aristocratic element is small and must arrange its marriages as best it can. Even there, however, it is only under the stress of great poverty that a member of the *ashrāf*, or 'noble' class, will give his daughter to one of the *ajlāf*, or 'low people,' as converts of indigenous origin are called in Bengal. Of course, the limits of the various groups are not defined as sharply as they are with the Hindus. The well-known proverb which occurs in various forms in different parts of Northern India—'Last year I was a Jolāhā (weaver); now I am a Sheikh; next year if prices rise, I shall become a Saiyid'—marks the difference, though analogous changes of status are not unknown among Hindus and, as Mr. Gait observes, 'promotion is not so rapid in reality as it is in the proverb.' But speaking generally, it may be said that the social cadre of the higher ranks of Muhammadans is based on hypergamy with a tendency in the direction of endogamy, while the lower functional groups are strictly endogamous, and are organized on the model of regular castes, with councils and officers which enforce the observance of caste rules by the time-honoured sanction of boycotting.

Absence of caste system in Baluchistān and Burma.

On the outskirts of the Empire lie two regions where Hindu standards of social precedence and Hindu notions of caste are neither recognized nor known. In Baluchistān, until less than a generation ago, Hindus were tolerated only as a useful class of menials who carried on the petty trade which the fighting

races deemed below their dignity. They adopted the device, not unknown in mediaeval Europe, of putting themselves under the protection of their more powerful neighbours, and Mr. Hughes-Buller (*Baluchistān Census Report*, 1901) tells us that even now a Hindu, when asked to what caste he belongs, 'will often describe himself by the name of the tribal group to which he holds himself attached.' Among the non-Hindu people of Baluchistān the question of social precedence is intricate and obscure, and its details must be studied in Mr. Hughes-Buller's excellent Report. Of the three chief races, the Afghāns rank highest, in virtue of their former sovereignty; then come the Baloch, who also once bore rule; and last the Brāhui, who were in power at the time of the British occupation. The relative position of the two latter is indicated by various proverbs, by the attempts of the Brāhui to trace their descent to the Baloch, and by the fact that 'no self-respecting Baloch will give his daughter to a Brāhui.' Below these races come the Jats, a term which seems to be loosely used to denote all sorts of menial classes, including professional musicians (Lāngahs), blacksmiths (Loris), and leather-workers (Muchis). But even here there is no hard and fast prohibition of intermarriage, and both Baloch and Brāhui will take wives from among the Jats. Within the circle of each tribe a condition of theoretical equality appears to prevail, tempered by personal considerations arising from capacity to lead, religious sanctity, age, and kinship with a ruling family.

In Burma caste is so little known that the Burmese language possesses no word for it, while one of the difficulties of conducting the census of the numerous Indian immigrants was the impossibility of making the average Burman enumerator understand the meaning of the Indian term *zāt* or *jāt*. Differences of religion he can grasp in a vague sort of way; he has a notion of what is meant by race; but caste remains to him an insoluble mystery, a thing with which his democratic spirit has no sympathy whatever. Mr. Lowis (*Burma Census Report*, 1901) assures us that there are not and never have been any true castes in Burma, though a class of landed proprietors in Minbu, known as the Thugaungs, appear to be endogamous, and thirty-six professional groups with hereditary occupations are said to have existed among the Chins.

Distribution of social groups.

No attempt can be made here to analyse and explain the distribution of the nearly 2,400 castes and tribes which have been enumerated in the 1901 Census. The distribution of thirty-six of the principal tribes and castes is shown in the series

of maps annexed to chapter xi of the *Census Report*, and a glance at these will show that some castes are diffused over the whole of India, while others are localized in particular Provinces or tracts of country[1]. The typical instance of a widely diffused caste is furnished by the Brāhmans, who number nearly fifteen millions, and represent a proportion of the total population ranging from ten per cent. in the United Provinces, Central India, and Rājputāna, to three per cent. in Madras, the Central Provinces, and Bengal proper, and two per cent. in Assam and Chotā Nāgpur. The distribution accords fairly well with the history and traditions of the caste. They are strongest in their original centre, numbering nearly five millions in the United Provinces, and weakest in the outlying tracts, peopled mainly by non-Aryan races, whom their influence has even now only imperfectly reached. There can, moreover, be little doubt that many of the Brāhmans of the more remote tracts have been manufactured on the spot by the simple process of conferring the title of Brāhman on the tribal priests of the local deities. The so-called Barna Brāhmans, who serve the lower castes of Bengal, probably obtained sacerdotal rank in this fashion. That the priestly caste is not of altogether unmixed descent is attested by the numerous legends of Rājās who, having sworn a rash oath to feed a stated number of Brāhmans, found the supply run short and were obliged to make them up for the occasion out of any materials that were at hand. As with the Brāhmans, so in the chief functional groups the tendency is towards wide diffusion, and their racial composition probably differs materially in different Provinces. Owing to differences of language, the maps above mentioned fail to bring out the complete facts in relation to the whole of India. Thus, the leather-workers (Chamār and Muchi) of Northern India, numbering about twelve millions and forming twelve per cent. of the population of the United Provinces, correspond with the Chakkiliyan (486,884) and Mādiga (755,316) of Madras, but the maps do not include these. In each Province such groups form, of course, distinct castes which have probably been evolved independently.

Of the localized groups a large number are admittedly tribes. The Bhīl, Gond, Kolī, and Santāl come within this category, and are still outside the Hindu social system. The Doms, Dosādhs, Gūjars, Jāts, Kaibarttas, Namasūdras (Chandāls), Pods, Nāyars, Pallis, Paraiyans (Pariahs), and Rājbansi-Koch

[1] The distribution of the most important castes is shown, more generally, in the ethnographic map of the Atlas accompanying the *Gazetteer*.

represent tribes which have been transformed into castes at a comparatively recent date and still retain some traces of the tribal stage of development.

Origin of caste. The Indian theory.

Several theories of the origin of caste are to be found in the literature of the subject. The oldest and most famous is accepted as an article of faith by all orthodox Hindus, and its attraction extends, as each successive Census shows, through an ever-widening circle of aspirants to social distinction. It appears in its most elaborate form in the curious jumble of magic, religion, law, custom, ritual, and metaphysics which is commonly called the Institutes of Manu. Here we read how the *Anima Mundi*, the supreme soul which 'contains all created beings and is inconceivable,' produced by a thought a golden egg, in which 'he himself was born as Brahmā, the progenitor of the whole world.' Then 'for the sake of the prosperity of the worlds, he caused the Brāhman, the Kshattriya, the Vaisya, and the Sūdra to proceed from his mouth, his arms, his thighs, and his feet,' and allotted to each of these their distinctive duties. The Brāhman was enjoined to study, teach, sacrifice, and receive alms; the Kshattriya to protect the people and abstain from sensual pleasures; the Vaisya to tend cattle, to trade, to lend money, and to cultivate land; while for the Sūdra was prescribed the comprehensive avocation of meekly serving the other three groups. Starting from this basis, the standard Indian tradition proceeds to trace the evolution of the caste system from a series of complicated crosses, first between members of the four groups and then between the descendants of these initial unions. The men of the three higher groups might marry women of any of the groups below them, and if the wife belonged to the group next in order of precedence the children took her rank, and no new caste was formed. If, however, the mother came from a group lower down in the scale, her children belonged neither to her group nor to their father's, but formed a distinct caste called by a different name. Thus the son of a Brāhman by a Vaisya woman is an Ambastha, to whom belongs the art of healing; while if the mother is a Sūdra, the son is a Nishāda and must live by killing fish. The son of a Kshattriya father and a Sūdra mother is 'a being called Ugra resembling both a Kshattriya and a Sūdra, ferocious in his manners and delighting in cruelty.' In all of these the father is of higher rank than the mother, and the marriages are held to have taken place in the right order (*anuloma*, or 'with the hair'). Unions of the converse type, in which the woman belongs to a superior group, are condemned as *pratiloma*,

or 'against the hair.' The extreme instance of the fruit of *pratiloma* relations is the Chandāl, the son of a Brāhman woman by a Sūdra, who is described as 'that lowest of mortals,' and is condemned to live outside the village, to clothe himself in the garments of the dead, to eat from broken dishes, to execute criminals, and to carry out the corpses of friendless men. But the Ayogavas, with a Sūdra father and a Kshattriya mother, are not much better off, for the accident of their birth is sufficient to brand them as wicked people who eat reprehensible food. Alliances between the descendants of these first crosses produce, among others, the Sairandhra who is 'skilled in adorning his master,' and pursues as an alternative occupation the art of snaring animals; and 'the sweet-voiced Maitreyaka who, ringing a bell at the appearance of dawn, continually praises great men.' Finally, a fresh series of connubial complications is introduced by the Vrātya, the twice-born men who have neglected their sacred duties and have among their direct descendants the Malla, the Licchivi, the Nata, the Karana, the Khasa, and the Dravida, while each of these in its turn gives rise to further mazes of hypothetical parentage.

Its historic elements.

It is small wonder that European critics should have been so impressed by the unreal character of this grotesque scheme of social evolution, that some of them have put it aside as a mere figment of the subjective intellect of the ingenious Brāhman. Yet, fantastic as it is, it opens indirectly and unconsciously an instructive glimpse of prehistoric society in India. It shows us that at the time when Manu's treatise was compiled, probably about the second century A.D., there must have existed an elaborate and highly developed social system, including tribal or national groups like the Nishāda, Māgadha, Vaideha, Malla, Licchivi, Khasa, Dravida, Saka, Kirāta, and Chandāl; and functional groups such as the Ambastha, who were physicians; the Sūta, who were concerned with horses and chariots; the Nishāda, and the Māargavas, Dasas or Kaivartas, who were fishermen; the Ayogava, carpenters; the Kārāvara and Dhigvansa, workers in leather; and the Vena, musicians and players on the drum. It is equally clear that the occupations of Brāhmans were as diverse as they are at the present day, and that their position in this respect was just as far removed from that assigned to them by the traditional theory. In the list of Brāhmans whom a pious householder should not entertain at a *srāddha*[1] we find physi-

[1] *Laws of Manu*, iii. 149–167.

cians; sellers of meat; shopkeepers; usurers; actors; singers; oilmen; keepers of gambling houses; sellers of spices; makers of bows and arrows; cowherds, and trainers of elephants, oxen, horses or camels; astrologers; bird-fanciers; fencing-masters; architects; breeders of sporting dogs; falconers; cultivators; shepherds; and even carriers of dead bodies. The conclusions suggested by the passages cited from Manu are confirmed by Dr. Richard Fick's instructive study of the structure of society in Bihār and the Eastern Districts of the United Provinces at the time of Buddha[1]. Dr Fick's work is based mainly upon the Jātakas or 'birth-stories' of the Southern Buddhists; and from these essentially popular sources, free from any suggestion of Brāhmanical influence, he succeeds in showing that, at the period depicted, the social organization in the part of India with which his authorities were familiar did not differ very materially from that which prevails at the present day. Then, as now, the traditional hierarchy of four castes had no distinct and determinate existence, still less had the so-called mixed castes supposed to be derived from them, while of the Sūdras in particular no trace at all was to be found. Then, as now, Indian society was made up of a medley of diverse and heterogeneous groups, apparently not so strictly and uniformly endogamous as the castes of to-day, but containing within themselves the germs out of which the modern system has developed by natural and insensible stages. That development has been furthered by a variety of influences which will be discussed below.

Its probable origin.

Assuming that the writers of the law books had before their eyes the same kind of social chaos that exists now, the first question that occurs is, From what source did they derive the theory of the four castes? Manu, of course, as Sir Henry Maine has pointed out, is a relatively modern work; but the traditional scheme of castes figures in earlier law books, such as the Baudhāyana and Apastamba, and it seems probable that for them it was not so much a generalization from observed facts as a traditional theory, which they attempted to stretch so as to explain the facts. The Indian pandit does not take kindly to inductive methods, nor is it easy to see how he could have arrived by this road at a hypothesis which breaks down directly it is brought into contact with the realities of life. But it is possible that the Brāhmanical theory of castes may be nothing more than a modified version of the division of

[1] *Die sociale Gliederung im nordostlichen Indien zu Buddha's Zeit* (1897).

society into four classes—priests, warriors, cultivators, and artisans—which appears in the sacerdotal literature of ancient Persia[1]. It is not suggested that the Irānian legend of four classes formed part of the stock of tradition which the Aryans brought with them into India. Had this been so, the myth relating to their origin would have figured prominently in the Vedas, and would not have appeared solely in the Purusha Sukta, which most critics agree in regarding as a modern interpolation. The conjecture is that the relatively modern compilers of the law books, having become acquainted with the Irānian legend, were fascinated by its assertion of priestly supremacy, and made use of it as the basis of the theory by which they attempted to explain the manifold complexities of the caste system. The procedure is characteristic of Brāhmanical literary methods, and is in itself no more absurd than a recent attempt on the part of the Aryā Samāj to discover in the Rig-veda an anticipation of the discoveries of modern science.

The Indian and Irānian classes.

The differences in the Indian and Irānian categories are trifling, and admit of being accounted for by the fact that India had, what Persia had not, a large aboriginal population differing from the Indo-Aryans in respect of religion, usages, and physical type, and more especially in the conspicuous attribute of colour. These people had somehow to be brought within the limits of the scheme; and this was done by the simple process of lumping them together in the servile class of Sūdras, which is sharply distinguished from the twice-born groups and has a far lower status than is assigned to the artisans in the Irānian system. Thus the four *varnas*, or colours, of the Indian myth seem to occupy an intermediate position between the purely occupational classes of ancient Persia and Egypt and the rigidly defined castes of modern India. In the Persian system only the highest group of Athravans or priests was endogamous, while between the other three groups, as between all the groups of the Egyptian system (excluding the swineherds if we follow Herodotus), no restrictions on intermarriage appear to have been recognized. Moreover, as is implied by the distinction between the twice-born classes and the Sūdras, and by the prominence given to the element of colour (*varna*), the Indian system rests upon a basis of racial antagonism of which there is no trace in Persia and Egypt. Yet in the stage of development portrayed in the law books the system had not hardened

[1] Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, iii. 547–670.

into the rigid mechanism of the present day. It is still more or less fluid; it admits of intermarriage under the limitations imposed by the rule of hypergamy; it represents caste in the making, not caste as it has since been made. This process of caste-making has indeed by no means come to an end. Fresh castes are constantly being formed, and wherever we can trace the stages of their evolution they seem to proceed on the lines followed in the traditional scheme. The first stage is for a number of families, who discover in themselves some quality of social distinction, to refuse to give their women in marriage to other members of the caste, from whom nevertheless they continue to take wives. After a time, when their numbers have increased and they have bred women enough to supply material for a *ius connubii* of their own, they close their ranks, marry only among themselves, and pose as a superior sub-caste of the main caste to which they belong. Last of all they break off all connexion with the parent stock, assume a new name which ignores or disguises their original affinities, and claim general recognition as a distinct caste. The educated Pods of Bengal are an illustration of the first stage; the Çhāsi Kaibartta of the second; the Māhisya of the third.

Sir Denzil Ibbetson's theory.

We may now pass from the pious fictions of Manu and the Rāmāyana to those modern critical theories which, whether they carry conviction or not, at least start from and give full weight to the facts, and make an honest attempt to work out a scientific solution of the problem. Among these Sir Denzil Ibbetson's description of caste in the Punjab[1] contains the most vivid presentment of the system in its everyday working, of the various elements which have contributed to its making, and of the surprising diversity of the results which have been produced. From this wealth of material it is not altogether easy to disentangle the outlines of a cut-and-dried theory, and it may well have been the intention of the writer to leave the question more or less open, and to refrain from the futile endeavour to compress such infinite variety within the limits of any formula. The following passage sums up the leading features of the hypothesis; but the exposition of its working requires to be studied as a whole, and the entire section dealing with the evolution of caste will be found in the Ethnographic Appendices to the *Report on the Census of India*, 1901.

'Thus, if my theory be correct, we have the following steps in the process by which caste has been evolved in the Punjab:—

[1] *Report on the Census of the Punjab*, 1881, pp. 172-341.

(1) the tribal divisions common to all primitive societies; (2) the guilds based upon hereditary occupation common to the middle life of all communities; (3) the exaltation of the priestly office to a degree unexampled in other countries; (4) the exaltation of the Levitical blood by a special insistence upon the necessarily hereditary nature of occupation; (5) the preservation and support of this principle by the elaboration from the theories of the Hindu creed or cosmogony of a purely artificial set of rules, regulating marriage and intermarriage, declaring certain occupations and foods to be impure and polluting, and prescribing the conditions and degree of social intercourse permitted between the several castes. Add to these the pride of social rank and the pride of blood which are natural to man, and which alone could reconcile a nation to restrictions at once irksome from a domestic and burdensome from a material point of view; and it is hardly to be wondered at that caste should have assumed the rigidity which distinguishes it in India.'

M. Senart's criticism on this theory[1] is directed to two points. He demurs, in the first place, to the share which he supposes it to assign to Brāhmanical influence, and challenges the supposition that a strict code of rules, exercising so absolute a dominion over the consciences of men, could be merely a modern invention, artificial in its character and self-regarding in its aims. Secondly, he takes exception to the disproportionate importance which he conceives Sir Denzil Ibbetson to attach to community of occupation, and points out that, if this were really the original binding principle of caste, the tendency towards incessant fission and dislocation would be much less marked: the force that in the beginning united the various scattered atoms would continue to hold them together to the end. Both criticisms appear to miss an essential feature in the scheme, the influence of the idea of kinship, which is certainly the oldest and probably the most enduring factor in the caste system, and which seems to have supplied the framework and the motive principle of the more modern restrictions based upon ceremonial usage and community of occupation.

Mr. Nesfield's theory.

Mr. Nesfield[2] is a theorist of quite a different type. He feels no doubts and is troubled by no misgivings. Inspired by the systematic philosophy of Comte, he maps out the whole confused region of Indian caste into a graduated series of

[1] *Les Castes dans l'Inde.*

[2] *Brief View of the Caste System of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, pp. 3, 4, 75, 88, 229–131.

groups and explains exactly how each has come by the place that it occupies in the scheme. As stated on page 286, he assumes as the basis of his theory the essential unity of the Indian race, and appeals to 'physiological resemblance' to prove that 'for the last three thousand years at least no real difference of blood between Aryan and aboriginal' has existed 'except perhaps in a few isolated tracts.' In his opinion the conquering Aryan race was completely absorbed by the indigenous population. The homogeneous people thus formed are divided by Mr. Nesfield, in the area to which his researches relate, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, into the following seven groups, among which he distributes the 121 castes enumerated in the Census of 1881 :—

I. Casteless tribes.
II. Castes connected with land:
  A. Allied to hunting state.
  B. Allied to fishing state.
  C. Allied to pastoral state.
  D. Agricultural.
  E. Landlords and warriors.
III. Artisan castes:
  A. Preceding metallurgy.
  B. Coeval with metallurgy.
IV. Trading castes.
V. Serving castes.
VI. Priestly castes.
VII. Religious orders.

The classification, it will be observed, is based solely upon occupation, and it expresses Mr. Nesfield's conviction that 'function, and function only, as I think, was the foundation upon which the whole caste system of India was built up.' The order of the groups is determined by the principle that 'each caste or group of castes represents one or other of those progressive stages of culture which have marked the industrial development of mankind, not only in India, but in every other country in the world wherein some advance has been made from primeval savagery to the arts and industries of civilized life. The rank of any caste as high or low depends upon whether the industry represented by the caste belongs to an advanced or backward stage of culture; and thus the natural history of human industries affords the chief clue to the gradations as well as to the formation of Indian castes.' At the bottom of the scale are the more or less primitive tribes—Thārus, Kanjars, Doms, and Nats—'the last remains and sole surviving representatives of the aboriginal Indian savage, who was once the only inhabitant of the Indian continent, and from whose stock the entire caste system, from the sweeper to the priest, was fashioned by the slow growth of centuries.' Then come the hunting Baheliyas, the Mallāhs and Dhīmars (boatmen and fishermen), the pastoral Ahīrs and Gadariās, and the great mass of agriculturists, wh.le above these he finds in the

Kshattriya or Rājput the sole representative of the landlord and warrior caste. The artisan castes are subdivided with reference to the supposed priority of the evolution of their crafts. The basket-making Bānsphors, the weavers (Kori and Jolāhā), the potters (Kumhārs), and the oilmen (Teli) fall within the more primitive group antecedent to metallurgy, while blacksmiths, goldsmiths, tailors, and confectioners are placed in the group coeval with the use of metals. Above them again come the trading and the serving castes, among whom we find in rather odd collocation the scavenging Bhangī, the barber (Nāpit or Nai), the bard and genealogist (Bhāt), and the Kāyasths, who are described as estate managers and writers. The Brāhmans and the religious orders complete the scheme. But the mere classification obviously offers no solution of the real problem. How did these groups, which occur in one form or another all over the world, become hardened into castes? Why is it that in India alone their members are absolutely forbidden to intermarry? Mr. Nesfield replies without hesitation that the whole series of matrimonial taboos which constitute the caste system are due to the initiative of the Brāhmans. According to him they introduced for their own purposes, and in order to secure the dignity and privileges of their own caste, the rule that a Brāhman could only marry a Brāhman, and all the other classes, who up to that time had intermarried freely, followed their example, 'partly in imitation and partly in self-defence.' The proposition recalls the short way that writers of the eighteenth century were apt to take with historical problems, reminding one of Bolingbroke's easy assertion that the sacred literature of Egypt was invented by the priests. Detailed criticism would be out of place here: the main object of this chapter is to lay stress on precisely those factors of evolution which Mr. Nesfield ignores; but it may be observed that a theory which includes in the same categories the Dom and the Teli, the Banjārā and the Khattrī, the Bhangī and the Kāyasth must, in the race for acceptance, have a good deal of leeway to make up.

M. Senart's theory.

After examining the views propounded by Sir Denzil Ibbetson and Mr. Nesfield, and by Mr. Risley in his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, M. Senart passes on to formulate his own theory of the origin of caste. In his view caste is the normal development of ancient Aryan institutions, which assumed this form in the struggle to adapt themselves to the conditions with which they came into contact in India. In developing this proposition he relies greatly upon the general parallelism that may be traced between the social organization of the Hindus

and that of the Greeks and Romans in the earlier stages of their national development. He points out the close correspondence that exists between the three series of groups—*gens*, *curia*, tribe at Rome; family, φρατρία, φυλή in Greece; and family, *gotra*, caste in India. Pursuing the subject into fuller detail, he seeks to show that the leading principles which underlie the caste system form part of a stock of usage and tradition common to all branches of the Aryan people. In the department of marriage, for example, the Athenian γένος and the Roman *gens* present striking resemblances to the Indian *gotra*. We learn from Plutarch that the Romans never married a woman of their own kin, and among the matrons who figure in classical literature none bears the same gentile name as her husband. Nor was endogamy unknown. At Athens, in the time of Demosthenes, membership of a φρατρία was confined to the offspring of the families belonging to the group. In Rome the long struggle of the plebeians to obtain the *ius connubii* with patrician women belongs to the same class of facts; and the patricians, according to M. Senart, were guarding the endogamous rights of their order—or should we not rather say the hypergamous rights? for in Rome, as in Athens, the primary duty of marrying a woman of equal rank did not exclude the possibility of union with women of humbler origin. We read in Manu how the gods disdain the oblations offered by a Sūdra: at Rome they were equally offended by the presence of a stranger at the sacrifice of the *gens*. Marriage itself is a sacrifice at which husband and wife officiate as priests, and their equality of status is attested by their solemnly eating together. The Roman *confarreatio* has its parallel in the *got kanāla* or 'tribal trencher' of the Punjab, the connubial meal by partaking of which the wife is transferred from her own exogamous group to that of her husband.

As with marriage so with food. The prohibition, which strikes us as so strange, against eating with members of another caste or partaking of food prepared by a man of lower caste recalls the religious significance which the Aryans attached to the common meal of the household. Cooked at the sacred fire, it symbolizes the unity of the family, its life in the present, its ties with the past. In Rome, as in India, daily libations were offered to ancestors; and the funeral feasts of the Greeks and Romans (περίδειπνον and *silicernium*) correspond to the *srāddha* of Hindu usage which, in M. Senart's view, represents 'an ideal prolongation of the family meal.' He seems even to find in the communal meals of the Persians,

and in the Roman *charistia*, from which were excluded not only strangers but any members of the family whose conduct had been unworthy, the analogue of the communal feast at which a social offender in India is received back into caste. The exclusion from religious and social intercourse symbolized by the Roman interdict *aqua et igni* corresponds to the ancient Indian ritual for expulsion from caste, where a slave fills the offender's vessel with water and solemnly pours it out on the ground, and to the familiar formula *hukka pānī band karna*, in which the modern luxury of tobacco takes the place of the sacred fire of the Roman excommunication. Even the caste *panchāyat* that wields these formidable sanctions has its parallel in the family councils which in Greece, Rome, and ancient Germany assisted at the exercise of the *patria potestas*, and in the chief of the *gens* who, like the *mātabar* of a caste, decided disputes between its members and gave decisions which were recognized by the state.

How was it that out of this common stock of usage there arose institutions so antagonistic in their nature as the castes of India and the nations of Europe? To what causes is it due that among the Aryans of the West all the minor groups have been absorbed in the wider circle of national unity, while the Indian Aryans have nothing to show in the way of social organization but a bewildering multitude of castes and sub-castes? M. Senart suggests a cause, but makes no attempt to follow out or illustrate its workings. He says, 'L'Inde ne s'est élevée ni à l'idée de l'État ni à l'idée de la Patrie. Au lieu de s'étendre, le cadre s'y resserre. Au sein des républiques antiques la notion des classes tend à se résoudre dans l'idée plus large de la cité; dans l'Inde elle s'accuse, elle tend à se circonscrire dans les cloisons étroites de la caste. N'oublions pas qu'ici les immigrans se répandaient sur une aire immense; les groupemens trop vastes étaient condamnés à se disperser. Dans cette circonstance les inclinations particularistes puisèrent un supplément de force.'

Distribution over a wide area, tending to multiply groups; contact with the aborigines, encouraging pride of blood; the idea of ceremonial purity, leading to the employment of the indigenous races in occupations involving manual labour, while the higher pursuits were reserved for the Aryans; the influence of the doctrine of metempsychosis, which assigns to every man a definite status determined by the inexorable law of *karma*; the absence of any political power to draw the scattered groups together; and the authority which the Brāhmanical system gradually acquired—these seem to be the main factors of

M. Senart's theory of caste. It may be urged in favour of his view of the subject that evolution, especially social evolution, is a gradual and complex process, that many causes work together to produce the final result, and that the attempt to reduce them to a single formula carries with it its own refutation. On the other hand, as Dr. Fick has pointed out[1], if caste were a normal extension of the ancient Aryan family system, the absence of any traces of this tendency in the Vedas is hardly accounted for by the statement that development proceeded so slowly, and was based on such primitive and instinctive impulses, that we could scarcely expect to find any tangible indications of it in a literature like that of the Hymns.

Caste not merely occupation.

Before proceeding farther we may dispose of the popular notion that community of occupation is the sole basis of the caste system. If this were so, as M. Senart has effectively pointed out, the institution 'aurait montré moins de tendance à se morceler, à se disloquer; l'agent qui l'aurait unifiée d'abord en aurait maintenu la cohésion.' To put it in another way, if the current idea were correct, all cultivators, all traders, all weavers ought to belong to the same caste, at any rate within the same area. But every one knows that this is not the case; that the same occupation embraces a whole crowd of castes each of which is a close corporation, though the members of each carry on the avocation that is common to them all.

The guilds of medineval Europe.

Several writers have laid stress on the analogy between Indian castes and the trade guilds of mediaeval Europe. The comparison is misleading. In the first place the guild was never endogamous in the sense that a caste is: there was nothing to prevent a man of one guild from marrying a girl of another. Secondly, there was no bar to the admission of outsiders who had learned the business: the guild recruited smart apprentices, just as the Baloch and Brāhui open their ranks to a fighting man who has proved his worth. The common occupation was a real tie, a source of strength in the long struggle against nobles and kings, not a symbol of disunion and weakness like caste in India. If the guild had been a caste, bound by rigid rules as to food, marriage, and social intercourse, and split up into a dozen divisions which could not eat together or intermarry, the wandering apprentice who was bound to travel for a year from town to town to learn the secrets of his art could hardly have managed to exist, still less could he have discharged, like Quintin Matsys and a host of less famous

[1] Fick, *loc. cit.*, p. 3.

craftsmen, the traditional duty of marrying his master's daughter. A guild may expand and develop; it gives free play to artistic endeavour; and it was the union of the guilds that gave birth to the Free Cities of the Middle Ages. A caste is an organism of a lower type; it grows by fission, and each step in its growth detracts from its power to advance or even to preserve the art which it professes to practise.

Caste tendencies under the Roman Empire.

A curious illustration of the inadequacy of occupation alone to generate and maintain the instinct of caste as we see it at work in India is furnished by certain ordinances of the Theodosian code. In the early part of the fifth century, when the Western Roman Empire was fast falling to pieces, an attempt was made, from purely fiscal motives, to determine the status and fix the obligations of all classes of officials. In his fascinating account of the constitution of society in those days, Professor Dill tells us how 'an almost Oriental system of caste' had made all public functions hereditary, 'from the senator to the waterman on the Tiber or the sentinel at a frontier post[1].' The Navicularii who maintained vessels for transport by sea, the Pistores who provided bread for the people of Italy, the Pecuarii and Suarii who kept up the supply of butcher's meat, were all organized on a system as rigid and tyrannical as that which prevails in India at the present day. Each class was bound down to its characteristic occupation, and its matrimonial arrangements were governed by the curious rule that a man must marry within the caste, while if a woman married outside of it her husband thereby acquired her status and had to take on the public duties that went with it. This surprising arrangement was not a spontaneous growth, like caste in India, but owed its existence to a law enforced by executive action. 'One of the hardest tasks of the Government (says Mr. Dill) was to prevent the members of these guilds from deserting or evading their hereditary obligations. It is well known that the tendency of the later Empire was to stereotype society, by compelling men to follow the occupation of their fathers, and preventing a free circulation among different callings and grades of life.... It was the principle of rural serfdom applied to social functions. Every avenue of escape was closed. A man was bound to his calling not only by his father's but by his mother's condition[2]. Men were not permitted to marry out of their guild. If the daughter of one of

[1] *Roman Society in the Last Days of the Western Empire*, Book iii, chap. i.

[2] C. Th. xiv. 4, 8 'ad munus pristinum revocentur, tam qui paterno quam materno genere inveniuntur obnoxii.'

the baker caste married a man not belonging to it, her husband was bound to her father's calling. Not even a dispensation obtained by some means from the imperial chancery, not even the power of the Church, could avail to break the chain of servitude.' There was even a caste of *curiales* or, as we should say in India, municipal commissioners, of whom we read that at a certain time all of them were ordered back to their native cities, and were forbidden to evade their hereditary obligations by entering any branch of the government service. As the Empire broke up, the caste system vanished with it. Men hastened to shake off all artificial restrictions and to choose wives and professions for themselves. But on the theory that community of function is the sole causative principle of caste, that is the last thing that they ought to have done. They should have hugged their chains and proceeded to manufacture new castes or sub-castes to fit every new occupation that sprang up. If the principle had been worth anything, it should have operated in Europe as effectually as it does in India. No one can say that the Theodosian code had not given it a good start.

Castes not merely developed tribes.

But, it will be asked, if the origin of caste is not to be found in the trade guild may we not seek it in the more primitive institution of the tribe? Early society, as far back as we can trace it, is made up of a network of tribes, and in India it is easy to observe the process of the conversion of a tribe into a caste. The conjecture seems at first sight plausible; but a glance at the facts will show that the transformation in question is confined to those tribes which have been brought into contact with the regular caste system, and have adopted its characteristic usages from religious or social motives. The Manipurīs, for example, were converted from Nāgās into Hindus only a century or two ago. The Bhumij, again, were a tribe at a still more recent date and retain plentiful traces of their origin. On the other hand, the races of Baluchistān, where Hindu influence is practically non-existent, show no inclination to follow the example of the Indian Muhammadans and organize themselves on the model of caste. The primitive tribe, in fact, wherever we find it, is not usually endogamous, and, so far from having any distaste for alien marriages, makes a regular business of capturing wives. In short, when tribes are left to themselves they exhibit no inborn tendency to crystallize into castes. In Europe, indeed, the movement has been all in the opposite direction: the tribes consolidated into nations; they did not sink into the political impotence of caste.

The genesis of caste. The basis of facts.

In the case of a complex phenomenon such as caste, to the formation of which a number of subtle tendencies must have contributed, all that we can hope to do is to disentangle one or two leading ideas and to show how their operation may have produced the state of things that actually exists. Following out this line of thought, it seems possible to distinguish two elements in the growth of caste sentiment: a basis of fact and a superstructure of fiction. The former is widespread if not universal; the latter peculiar to India. Whenever in the history of the world one people has subdued another, whether by sudden invasion or by gradual occupation of their territory, the conquerors have taken the women of the country as concubines or wives, but have given their own daughters in marriage only among themselves. Where the two peoples are of the same race, or at any rate of the same colour, this initial stage of hypergamy soon passes away and complete amalgamation takes place. Where, on the other hand, marked distinctions of race and colour intervene, and especially if the dominant people are continually recruited by men of their own blood, the course of evolution runs on different lines. The tendency then is towards the formation of a class of half-breeds, the result of irregular unions between men of the higher race and women of the lower, who marry only among themselves and are to all intents and purposes a caste. In this literal or physiological sense caste is not confined to India. It occurs in a pronounced form in the Southern States of the American Republic, where negroes intermarry with negroes, and the various mixed races, mulattoes, quadroons, and octoroons, each have a sharply restricted *ius connubii* of their own and are practically cut off from legal unions with the white races. The same set of phenomena may be observed among the half-breeds of Canada, Mexico, and South America, and among the Eurasians of India, who do not intermarry with natives and only occasionally with pure-bred Europeans. Illustrations of the same process may be observed in the Himālayas, where, if anywhere in India, the practices recorded with exaggerated precision in the Indian law books still survive. The Rājputs of the Kāngra Hills and the Khas of Nepāl are believed to be the offspring of alliances between conquering Rājputs and women of more or less Mongoloid descent. Working from this analogy, it is not difficult to construct the rough outlines of the process which must have taken place when the second wave of Indo-Aryans made their way into India through Gilgit and Chitrāl. To start with, they formed a homogeneous

community, scantily supplied with women, which speedily outgrew its original habitat. A company of the more adventurous spirits set out to conquer for themselves new domains among the neighbouring Dravidians. They went forth as fighting men, taking with them few women or none at all. They subdued the inferior race, established themselves as conquerors, and captured women according to their needs. Then they found themselves cut off from their original stock, partly by distance and partly by the alliances they had contracted. By marrying the captured women they had, to some extent, modified their original type; but a certain pride of blood remained to them, and when they had bred females enough to serve their purposes and to establish a distinct *ius connubii*, they closed their ranks to all further intermixture of blood. When they did this they became a caste like the castes of the present day. As their numbers grew, their cadets again sallied forth in the same way, and became the founders of Rājput and pseudo-Rājput houses all over India. In each case complete amalgamation with the inferior race was averted by the fact that they only took women and did not give them. They behaved in fact towards the Dravidians whom they conquered in the same way as some planters in America behaved to the African slaves whom they imported. This is a rough statement of what we may take to be the ultimate basis of caste, a basis of fact common to India and to certain stages of society all over the world. The principle upon which the system rests is the sense of distinction of race indicated by differences of colour: a sense which, while too weak to preclude the men of the dominant race from intercourse with the women whom they have captured, is still strong enough to make it out of the question that they should admit the men whom they have conquered to equal rights in the matter of marriage.

Influence of fiction.

Once started in India, the principle was strengthened, perpetuated, and extended to all ranks of society by the fiction that people who speak a different language, dwell in a different district, worship different gods, eat different food, observe different social customs, follow a different profession, or practise the same profession in a slightly different way must be so unmistakably aliens by blood that intermarriage with them is a thing not to be thought of. Illustrations of the working of this fiction have been given already and might be multiplied indefinitely. Its precise origin is necessarily uncertain. All that can be said is that fictions of various kinds have contributed largely to the development of early societies

in all parts of the world, and that their appearance is probably due to that tendency to vary, and to perpetuate beneficial variations, which seems to be a law of social no less than of physical development. However this may be, it is clear that the growth of the caste instinct must have been greatly promoted and stimulated by certain characteristic peculiarities of the Indian intellect—its lax hold of facts, its indifference to action, its absorption in dreams, its exaggerated reverence for tradition, its passion for endless division and subdivision, its acute sense of minute technical distinctions, its pedantic tendency to press a principle to its farthest logical conclusion, and its remarkable capacity for imitating and adapting social ideas and usages of whatever origin. It is through this imitative faculty that the myth of the four castes—evolved in the first instance by some speculative Brāhman, and reproduced in the popular versions of the Rāmāyana which the educated Hindu villager studies as diligently as the English rustic used to read his Bible—has attained its wide currency as the model to which Hindu society ought to conform. That it bears no relation to the actual facts of life is, in the view of its adherents, an irrelevant detail. It descends from remote antiquity, it has the sanction of the Brāhmans, it is an article of faith, and every one seeks to bring his own caste within one or other of the traditional classes. Finally, as M. Senart has pointed out, the whole caste system, with its scale of social merit and demerit and its endless gradations of status, is in remarkable accord with the philosophic doctrine of transmigration and *karma*. Every Hindu believes that his spiritual status at any given time is determined by the sum total of his past lives: he is born to an immutable *karma*, what more natural than that he should be born into an equally immutable caste?

Summary.

The conclusions which this chapter seeks to establish may now be summed up. They are these:—

(1) There are seven main physical types in India, of which the Dravidian alone is, or may be, indigenous. The Indo-Aryan, the Mongoloid, and the Turko-Irānian types are in the main of foreign origin. The Aryo-Dravidian, the Mongolo-Dravidian, and the Scytho-Dravidian are composite types formed by crossing with the Dravidians.

(2) The dominant influence in the formation of these types was the physical seclusion of India, involving the consequence that the various invaders brought few women with them and took the women of the country to wife.

(3) To this rule the first wave of Indo-Aryans formed the sole exception, for the reasons given on pages 300–3.

(4) The social grouping of the Indian people comprises both tribes and castes. We may distinguish three types of tribe and seven types of caste.

(5) Both tribes and castes are subdivided into endogamous, exogamous, and hypergamous groups.

(6) Of the exogamous groups a large number are totemistic.

(7) Castes can be classified only on the basis of social precedence, but no scheme of classification can be framed for the whole of India.

(8) The Indian theory of caste was perhaps derived from Persia. It has no foundation in fact, but is universally accepted in India.

(9) The origin of caste is from the nature of the case an insoluble problem. We can only frame more or less plausible conjectures, derived from the analogy of observed facts. The particular conjecture now put forward is based—firstly, upon the correspondence that can be traced between certain caste gradations and the variations of physical type; secondly, on the development of mixed races from stocks of different colour; and thirdly, on the influence of fiction.

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CHAPTER II

LANGUAGES

Linguistic progress.

OUR knowledge of most of the modern vernaculars of India has been much extended during the interval which has elapsed since the last edition of this *Gazetteer* was published. Not only have the highways of inquiry been widened and more clearly defined, but pioneers have ventured into the little-touched jungle of uncultivated dialects. There they have opened out paths which have sometimes led to unexpected results, and have disclosed secrets little suspected by those whose feet were necessarily confined to the main track that had previously been laid down with so much skill and energy. The progress has been most conspicuous in regard to the Aryan languages. The late Mr. Beames's *Comparative Grammar*, a book to the learning and lucidity of which worthy tribute was paid in 1886, was quickly succeeded by the similar work of Dr. Hoernle. The *Grammar of Eastern Hindī*, written by that eminent scholar, occupied much the same ground as the volumes of Mr. Beames, but carried the inquiries farther, and cast the main results into a form which has ever since been almost universally accepted. What has subsequently been done has principally dealt with matters of detail, or with the investigation of new languages of which satisfactory grammars did not previously exist.

Our knowledge of the Indo-Chinese languages has also made considerable progress. The Assam Government has liberally encouraged the production of textbooks of the forms of speech current in that polyglot territory ; and, in Europe, scholars like Professor E. Kuhn, of Munich, Professor Conrady, formerly of Leipzig, and Pater W. Schmidt, of Vienna, have succeeded in reducing to something like order the amazing confusion which hitherto existed in this department of philology. The Muṇḍā languages, too, have received considerable attention. New grammars and dictionaries have seen the light, and, in Europe, Scandinavian scholars have made a special study of this family of tongues. Theories of the most wide-

reaching significance have been put forth concerning them, but these have not yet all earned general acceptance.

In regard to the Dravidian languages, on the other hand, our knowledge has been almost stationary. Bishop Caldwell's monumental *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, which was fully utilized in the last edition of this *Gazetteer*, still remains our one authority. Only a few grammars of unimportant tribal dialects, such as Goṇḍ, Kurukh, and Kandh, together with one or two more grammars and dictionaries of the well-known classical languages of Southern India, have appeared during the past two decades.

The final word has not, however, been said regarding any of the Indian vernaculars, not even the Aryan ones. While we know a good deal about some of the languages, our information as to the dialects is, with one or two exceptions, most incomplete. Even in respect to the forms of speech with which we are familiar, and whose habitats are matters of commonplace, we often do not know where these habitats begin or end. There are many languages, too, spoken by wild tribes of the Hindu Kush, or of Further India, of which we know little or nothing except the names. A consideration of these facts has led the Government of India to commence a systematic survey of all the forms of speech employed in Northern and Eastern India, and in the Presidency of Bombay. This is rapidly approaching completion, and we may hope that its results when published will materially increase the world's information regarding one of its most interesting language-fields. So far as these results are available, they have been incorporated in the present chapter.

All this is a subject about which natives of India, a land whose literary glory may almost be said to be founded on the labours of its indigenous grammarians, are curiously incurious. Few natives at the present day are able to comprehend the idea connoted by the words 'a language.' Dialects they know and understand. They separate them and distinguish them with a meticulous, hair-splitting subtlety, which to us seems unnecessary and absurd; but their minds are not trained to grasp the conception, so familiar to us, of a general term embracing a number of interconnected dialects. It is as if we, in England, spoke of 'Somersetshire' and 'Yorkshire' dialects, but never used the term 'English language.' It thus follows that, while the dialect-names in the following pages have been taken from the indigenous nomenclature, nearly all the language-names have had to be invented by Europeans. Some

of them, such as 'Bengali,' 'Assamese,' and the like, are founded on words which have received English citizenship, and are not real Indian words at all; while others, like 'Hindostānī,' 'Bihārī,' and so forth, are based on already existing Indian names of countries or nationalities.

The vernaculars of India.

Five great families of human speech have their homes, as vernaculars, in India. These are the Aryan, the Dravidian, the Muṇḍā, the Mon-Khmer, and the Tibeto-Chinese. If, under the name of 'India,' we include the territories subject to Aden, we have to add at least two more, the Semitic and the Hamitic. These families will now be described in the above order. The oldest languages of India are probably those which we class as Muṇḍā, and if we arranged our subjects according to priority of occupation, we should have to commence with them. But practical reasons compel us to begin with the Aryan forms of speech, for, whether we consider the influence which they have exercised upon the development of Indian civilization, or the total number of their speakers, they are by far the most important.

The Aryan languages.

The modern Aryan vernaculars, although derived from languages which were highly synthetical in structure, with grammars as complicated as those of Latin or Greek, are now essentially analytical. As was said in the last edition of this work, the terminals of their nouns and verbs have given place to postpositions, and to disjointed modern particles to indicate time, place, and relation. The process was spontaneous, and it represents the natural course of the human mind. 'The flower of synthesis,' to use the words at once eloquent and accurate of Mr. Beames, 'budded and opened; and when full-blown began, like all other flowers, to fade. Its petals, that is, its inflexions, dropped off one by one; and in due course the fruit of analytical structure sprung up beneath it, and grew up and ripened in its stead.'

Originally the patois of pastoral tribes who found their way across the Hindu Kush, these tongues have spread over the whole of Northern India as far as Dibrugarh in the extreme east of Assam, and reaching south to Kanara in Bombay. While the speakers have in most instances succumbed to the influences of climate, and have lost their ethnical type by intermixture with the numerically superior aborigines, the languages have preserved their identity, and have superseded, and are still superseding, the indigenous forms of speech. When an Aryan tongue comes into contact with an uncivilized aboriginal one, it is invariably the latter which goes to the

wall. The Aryan does not attempt to speak it, and the necessities of intercourse compel the aborigine to use a broken 'pigeon' form of the language of a superior civilization. As generations pass this mixed jargon more and more approximates to its model, and in process of time the old aboriginal language is forgotten and dies a natural death. At the present day, in ethnic borderlands, we see this transformation still going on, and can watch it in all stages of its progress. It is only in the south of India, where aboriginal languages are associated with a high degree of culture, that they have held their own. The reverse process, of an Aryan tongue being superseded by an aboriginal one, never occurs.

The Indo-Europeans.

The Aryan languages form one branch of the great Indo-European family of speeches. The original home from which the populations whom we now group together under the title of 'Indo-European'[1] spread over Europe and parts of Western and Southern Asia has been a subject of long discussion, extending over many years. It has been located on the Caucasus and on the Hindu Kush. Other scholars maintained that it was in North-western Europe. Others have claimed Armenia and the country round the Oxus and Jaxartes as the centre of dispersion. The latest researches tend to show that the oldest domicile of the Indo-Europeans is probably to be sought for on the common borderland of Europe and Asia—in the steppe country of Southern Russia. Here they were a pastoral people; here some of their number took to agricultural pursuits; and from here they wandered off to the east and to the west.

From the point of view of language, the first great division of the Indo-Europeans was into the so-called *centum*-speakers and *satem*-speakers. The former, who originally began the word for 'hundred' with the letter *k*, travelled westwards and do not concern us. The latter, who expressed the same idea with some word beginning with a sibilant, mostly wandered to the east, and from their language have descended the speech-families which we call Aryan, Armenian, Phrygian, Thracian, Illyrio-Albanian, and Balto-Sclavonic. We have only to do with the first of these six.

One of the clans of these *satem*-speakers, who called themselves Aryans, migrated eastwards, probably by a route north of the Caspian Sea. They settled in the country lying on the

[1] The Indo-Europeans are often called 'Aryans,' but in this chapter the term is reserved for the Aryans properly so called,—the Indo-European clan which migrated into India and Persia.

banks of the Jaxartes and the Oxus, and we may, with some certainty, name the oasis of Khiva as one of their most ancient seats. Thence, still a united people, they worked their way up the courses of these rivers into the highlands of Khokand and Badakhshān, where they split up into two sections, one portion marching south, over the Hindu Kush, into the valley of the Kābul, and thence into the plains of India, and the other eastwards and westwards, towards the Pāmirs and towards what is now Merv and Eastern Persia. After the separation, the common Aryan speech developed on two different lines, and became, on the one hand, the parent of the Indo-Aryan, and, on the other hand, the parent of the Eranian (often spelt 'Iranian') family of languages.

Eranian languages. The Eranians who journeyed eastwards penetrated even as far as Yarkand, but their language, as a national speech, has survived only in the Pāmirs, and its eastern limit may be taken as Sariqol. Those who travelled to the west ultimately occupied not only Merv, but the whole of Persia and Baluchistān, and nearly the whole of Afghānistān. At the earliest period of which we have documentary evidence, we find Eranian divided into two not very different dialects, commonly called Persic and Medic. Persic was the official language of the Court of the Achaemenides, and was employed by Darius I (B.C. 522–486), in the celebrated Behistun inscription. It developed into the Middle Persian or Pahlavī of the Sassanids (third to seventh centuries A.D.), and finally became modern Persian. Persian is not a vernacular of India; but under Musalmān dominion it became one of the great vehicles of Indian literature, and some of the most famous Persian books, including the great lexicographical works, have been composed in Hindustān. Medic, on the other hand, was the language of the Avesta. It was spoken not only in Media (North-western Persia), but all over East Erān. From it are descended the two great Eranian languages belonging to India—Pashto and Baloch; and also, besides others, the so-called Ghalchah languages of the Pāmirs and Sariqol.

Baloch. Commencing from the south, the first of these is Baloch. It is in its outward shape the most archaic of all the Eranian tongues, still possessing forms which fifteen hundred years ago had already begun to decay in the cognate Persian. As its name implies, it is the principal language of Baluchistān, and is geographically split up by the Dravidian-speaking Brāhūīs of the central hills into two dialects—that of the north, and that of Makrān in the south and west. Its

southern boundary is the Arabian Sea, from near the Indus to about the fifty-eighth degree of east longitude. Northwards it extends to near Quetta, and as we go westwards it is found even farther than this, up to the valley of the Helmand. The Indus valley itself is occupied by speakers of Indo-Aryan languages, but the eastern boundary of Baloch follows the course of that river at a short distance to the west up to about Dera Ghāzi Khān. The northern dialect is much more rich in Indian loan-words than is Makrānī, and both dialects borrow freely from Arabic and Persian, words from the former often appearing in curiously distorted forms. Baloch can hardly be called a written language, although both the Persian and the Roman alphabets have been employed for transcribing it. The number of speakers of Baloch returned at the Census of 1901 was 152,188.

Pashto.

To the north of Baloch lies Pashto, the main language of British and independent Afghānistān. In the latter it is not the vernacular of the Hazāra country or of the tract lying to the north of the Kābul river, including Laghmān and Kāfiristān, but elsewhere it is in general use. It is the principal language of Swāt and Buner, and of the country to the west of the Indus as far south as Dera Ismail Khān. The Indus is almost, but not quite, the eastern boundary; for, while the valley itself in its lower course is peopled by speakers of Indo-Aryan dialects, in the north Pashto has crossed the river and occupied parts of the British Districts of Hazāra and Rāwalpindi. As a *lingua franca* it is in common use still farther up the Indus, at least as far as the junction with the river Kāndia where the Indus turns to the south. It was returned as spoken by 1,224,807 people in British India at the Census of 1901, the area in which it is employed being bilingual. Pashto is spoken by Pathāns, while the Hindus employ an Indo-Aryan dialect locally known as Hindko.

Unlike Baloch, Pashto is a written language possessing an alphabet of its own based on that employed for Persian, and has a fairly copious literature. It has been the subject of considerable study, not only by English scholars, but also by Russians, French, and Germans. The rugged character of its sounds suits the nature of its speakers and of the mountains which form their home, but they are most inharmonious to the fastidious Oriental ear. Although harsh-sounding, it is a strong, virile language, which is capable of expressing any idea with neatness and accuracy. It is less archaic in its general characteristics than Baloch, and has

borrowed not only much of its vocabulary, but even part of its grammar, from Indian sources. It has two recognized dialects, a north-eastern, or Pakhto, and a south-western, or Pashto, which differ little except in pronunciation, the two names being typical examples of the respective ways of uttering the same word. Each has many tribal sub-dialects, which again differ merely in the pronunciation of the vowels. There is, for instance, the Afrīdī sub-dialect, noted for the broad sound of its *ā*; while the Wazīrīs change every *ā* to *ō*, and every *ū* to *ī*.

The Pathāns have been identified with the Pakthas, a tribe mentioned in the Rig-veda, and with the Πάκτυες of Herodotus; while the Ἀπαρυταί of the Father of History are probably the same as the Afrīdīs, or, as they call themselves, Aprīdīs.

Ormurī.

Allied to Pashto, although quite a distinct language, is Ormurī, spoken by a small tribe settled round Kānigoram in Wazīristān. It is employed by members of the Bargistā tribe, who claim to be descendants of the Bārakīs that accompanied Mahmūd of Ghazni in his invasions of India. These Bārakīs are said to have taken a prominent part in the capture of the famous gates of Somnāth, and, pleased at the service rendered by them, the Sultān gave them a perpetual grant of the country round Kānigoram. The language, like Pashto, belongs to the Medic branch of Eranian speech. It is even more inharmonious than Pashto, and possesses one consonant, imperfectly represented in English letters by *kshr*, which even Pathān mouths find difficult to pronounce.

The Ghalchah languages.

The only other Eranian languages with which we are called upon to deal are the Ghalchah languages of the Pāmirs. The home of these tongues, Wakhī, Shighnī, Sariqolī, Ishkāshamī, and Munjānī, is beyond the British frontier; but the last-named has crosed the Hindu Kush by the Dora pass, and is also spoken in the Leotkuh valley of Chitrāl, where it is known as Yüdghā. This differs considerably from the standard language of Munjān, and has developed into an independent dialect. The spill of an Eranian language over the great watershed of the Hindu Kush is but a repetition of what occurred centuries ago when the Aryans first settled in the Pāmirs. At that early time, if linguistic evidence may be accepted, some of these Aryans crossed the passes and settled in what is now Laghmān, Kāfiristān, Chitrāl, Gilgit, and Kashmīr. They migrated at a period when all the typical characteristics of Eranian languages had not yet become fixed, and in their new home their tongue developed on its own

The Piśācha languages.

lines, partly Eranian and partly Indo-Aryan. The Aryans of India proper, who had entered the Punjab by the valley of the Kābul, had little intercourse or sympathy with these tribes, and nicknamed them *Piśāchas*, or flesh-eaters, ὠμοφάγοι, and in later years gruesome traditions attached to the name.

These Piśācha tribes must at one time have extended to some distance beyond their present seats. Sanskrit writers mention colonies of them in the Western Punjab and in Sind, and examples of the dialects spoken by them are found in the words which the Greeks employed to record names heard by them in North-western India, and in the versions of the inscriptions of Asoka found in the same locality. Indeed, there are traces of their influence still existing in the modern vernaculars of the Lower Indus valley. At the present day the languages are found only in the country between the Punjab and the Hindu Kush. They possess an extraordinarily archaic character. Words are still in everyday use which are almost identical with the forms they assumed in Vedic hymns, and which now survive only in a much corrupted state in the plains of India.

In their essence these languages are neither Eranian nor Indo-Aryan, but are something between both. In the southern portion of the area in which they are spoken they are much mixed with Indian idioms; and this is specially the case with Kāshmīrī, which has only a Piśācha substratum, overlaid by another language of Indian origin, which so effectually conceals the original basis, that Kāshmīrī must now be considered as Indo-Aryan, and not as belonging to the Piśācha group.

The true Piśācha languages of the present day are Pashai, spoken in Laghmān of Afghānistān; a number of Kāfir dialects, of which the principal are Bashgalī, Wai, and Kalāshā; Kh̲owār, the language of Chitrāl; and Shīnā, that of Gilgit and the neighbourhood. It is Shīnā which is the basis of Kāshmīrī, and it is also the foundation of several mixed dialects, spoken in the Indus and Swāt Kohistāns, which are now being superseded by Pashto. Kh̲owar occupies a somewhat independent position in regard to the others, while the Kāfir dialects, of which there are at least five, differ considerably among themselves. Wasīn̆ Veri, the most western of them, in some phonetic peculiarities shows points of agreement with the purely Eranian Munjānī. All the Piśācha languages are without literatures, and have been reduced to writing only in the past few years by European scholars. At the same time it may be remarked that the great collection of

Indian folk-lore entitled the *Bṛihat Kathā*, of which no copy is known to exist at the present day, is said by tradition to have been composed in the tongue of the Piśāchas.

Indo-Aryan languages.

Returning to the immigration of the Indo-Aryans through the Kābul valley from the west, it is not suggested that this took place all at once. On the contrary, it was a gradual affair extending over centuries. The latest comers would not necessarily be on good terms with their predecessors, who quite possibly opposed them as intruders, nor did they speak the same language. At the earliest period of which we have any cognizance, we see the Punjab peopled by various Indo-Aryan tribes, one at enmity with another, and sometimes alluding to its opponent as a set of unintelligible barbarians.

The language of the 'Midland.'

In Sanskrit geography India is divided into the *Madhya-deśa*, or 'Midland,' and the rest. The Midland is constantly referred to as the true pure home of the Indo-Aryan people, the rest being, from the point of view of Sanskrit writers, more or less barbarous. The Midland extended from the Himālayas on the north to the Vindhya Hills on the south, and from Sahrind (*vulgo* Sirhind) in the Eastern Punjab on the west to the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna on the east. It thus consisted of the Gangetic Doāb, and of the country immediately to its north and south. The population of this tract had expanded from its original seat near the Upper Doāb and the sacred river, the Saraswatī. The particular Indo-Aryan dialect of these people developed into the modern language of the Midland. It also received literary culture from the most ancient times, and became fixed, in the form of Sanskrit (literally the 'purified' language), by the labours of grammarians, which may be said to have culminated in the work of Pāṇini about the year 300 B.C. Sanskrit thus represents a polished form of an archaic tongue, which by Pāṇini's time was no longer a vernacular[1], but which, owing to political reasons and to the fact that it was the vehicle of literature, became a second language understood and used by the educated in addition to their mother tongue, and has so continued with a fluctuating popularity down to the present day. We may take the language of the Rig-veda as representing the archaic dialect of the Upper Doāb, of which Sanskrit became the polished form. It was a vernacular, and, besides receiving this literary cultivation, underwent the fate

[1] So in the opinion of the present writer. Some scholars consider that Sanskrit was a vernacular of certain classes in Pāṇini's time and for long afterwards. See *J. R. A. S.* for 1904, pp. 435 sq., 457 sq.

of all vernaculars. Just as the spoken dialects of Italy existed side by side with Latin, and, while the evolution of Latin was arrested by its great writers, ultimately developed into the modern Romance languages, so the ancient Vedic form of speech developed first into that stage of language known as Prākrit, and then into one or more modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars. It is thus a mistake to say that any modern Indian language is *derived* from Sanskrit. The most that can be said is that it and Sanskrit have a common origin.

The languages of the 'Outer Band.'

So far for the language of the 'Midland.' Round it, on three sides—west, south, and east—lay a country inhabited, even in Vedic times, by other Indo-Aryan tribes. This tract included the modern Punjab, Sind, Gujarāt, Rājputāna and the country to its east, Oudh, and Bihār. Rājputāna belongs geographically to the Midland, but it was a late conquest, and for our present purposes may be considered as belonging to the Outer Band. Over this band were scattered different tribes, each with its own dialect; but it is important to note that a comparison of the modern vernaculars shows that these outer dialects were all more closely related to each other than any of them was to the language of the Midland. In fact, at an early period of the linguistic history of India there must have been two sets of Indo-Aryan dialects—one the language of the Midland, and the other the group of dialects forming the Outer Band. From this it has been argued, and the contention is entirely borne out by the results of ethnological inquiries, that the inhabitants of the Midland represent the latest stage of Indo-Aryan immigration. The earliest arrivals spoke one dialect, and the new-comers another. According to Dr. Hoernle, who first suggested the theory, the latest invaders probably entered the Punjab like a wedge, into the heart of the country already occupied by the first immigrants, forcing the latter outwards in three directions, to the east, to the south, and to the west.

The next process which we observe in the geographical distribution of the Indo-Aryan languages is one of expansion. The population of the Midland increased, and history shows that it exercised an important influence over the rest of India. The imperial cities of Delhi and Kanauj, and the holy city of Mathurā (Muttra), the Μόδουρα ἡ τῶν θεῶν of Ptolemy, lay within its territory. With increased population and increased power it expanded and conquered the Eastern Punjab, Rājputāna and Gujarāt (where it reached the sea, and gained access to maritime commerce), and Oudh. With its armies and with

its settlers it carried its language, and hence in all these territories we now find mixed forms of speech. The basis of each is that of the Outer Band, but its body is that of the Midland. Almost everywhere the nature of the phenomena is the same. In the country near the borders of the Midland, the Midland language has overwhelmed the ancient language, and few traces of the latter can be recognized. As we go farther from the centre, the influence of the Midland weakens and that of the Outer Band becomes stronger and stronger, till the traces of the Midland speech disappear altogether. The present language of the Eastern Punjab is closely allied to that of the Upper Doāb, but it gradually becomes the Lahndā of the Western Punjab, which has nothing to do with the Midland. So the language of North-eastern Rājputāna is very similar to that of Agra, but as we go south and west we see more and more of the original language of the Outer Band, until it is quite prominent in Gujarāt. Again, in Oudh, which was a country with a literature and history of its own, there is a mixture of the same nature, although here the Midland language has not established itself so firmly as it has in the west and south.

Finally, where possible, the inhabitants of the Outer Band also expanded to the south and east. In this way we find Marāṭhī in the Central Provinces, Berār, and Bombay; and, to the east, Oṛiyā, Bengali, and Assamese, all of them true Outer languages unaffected in their essence by the speech of the Midland.

The state of affairs at the present day is therefore as follows:—There is a Midland Indo-Aryan language, occupying the Gangetic Doāb and the country immediately to its north and south. Round it on three sides is a band of Mixed languages, occupying the Eastern Punjab, Gujarāt, Rājputāna, and Oudh, with extensions to the south in Baghelkhand and Chhattīsgarh. Again, beyond these, there is a band of Outer languages, occupying Kashmīr, the Western Punjab, Sind (here it is broken by Gujarāt), the Marāthā country, Orissa, Bihār, Bengal, and Assam. To these should be added the Indo-Aryan languages of the Himālayas north of the Midland, which also belong to the Intermediate Band, being recent importations from Rājputāna. The Midland language is therefore now enclosed in a ring fence of intermediate forms of speech.

The Prākrits.

We have seen that the word 'Sanskrit' means 'purified.' Opposed to this is the word 'Prākrit,' or 'natural, unartificial.' 'Prākrit' thus connotes the vernacular dialects of

India as distinguished from the principal literary form of speech. The earliest Prākrit of which we have any cognizance is the Midland vernacular current during the Vedic period. We have no record of the contemporary Prākrits of the Outer Band. We may call all these vernaculars (including the tongue of the Midland) the *Primary* Prākrits of India. These Primary Prākrits were in a linguistic stage closely corresponding to that of Latin as we know it. They were synthetic languages, with fairly complicated grammars, and with no objection to harsh combinations of consonants. In the course of centuries they decayed into what are called *Secondary* Prākrits. Here we find the languages still synthetic, but diphthongs and harsh combinations are eschewed, till in the latest developments we find a condition of almost absolute fluidity, each language becoming an emasculated collection of vowels hanging for support on an occasional consonant. This weakness brought its own nemesis and from, say, 1000 A.D. we find in existence the series of modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars, or, as they may be called, *Tertiary* Prākrits. Here we find the hiatus of contiguous vowels abolished by the creation of new diphthongs, declensional and conjugational terminations consisting merely of vowels worn away, and new languages appearing, no longer synthetic, but analytic, and again reverting to combinations of consonants under new forms, which had existed three thousand years ago, but which two thousand years of attrition had caused to disappear.

Returning to the Secondary Prākrits, they existed from, at least, the time of the Buddha (550 B.C.) down to about 1000 A.D. During these fifteen hundred years they passed through several stages. The earliest was that now known as Pāli. Two hundred and fifty years before Christ, we find the edicts of Asoka written in a form of this language, and it then had at least two dialects, an eastern and a western. In this particular stage of Pāli one of the Secondary Prākrits was crystallized by the influence of Buddhism, which employed it for its sacred books. As vernaculars, the Secondary Prākrits continued the course of their development, and in a still more decayed form reached the stage of what, in various dialects, is known as The Prākrit *par excellence*. When we talk of Prākrits, we usually mean this later stage of the Secondary Prākrits, when they had developed beyond the stage of Pāli, and before they had reached the analytic stage of the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars.

At this stage, so far as materials are available, we notice the same grouping of the Prākrit dialects as exists among the

vernaculars of the present day. We have no definite information what was the language of the Punjab; but as for the rest of India, there was a Prākrit of the Midland, the so-called Śaurasenī, called after the Sanskrit name, Śūrasena, of the country round Mathurā (Muttra). It was close to the great kingdom of Kanauj, the centre of Indo-Aryan power at this time. To its south and east was a band of dialects agreeing in many points among themselves, and also in common points of difference when compared with Śaurasenī. These were—in the east, in the country now called Bihār, Māgadhī; in Oudh and Baghelkhand, Ardhamāgadhī; and, south of Ardhamāgadhī and Śaurasenī, Māhārāshṭrī with its head quarters in Berār. Ardhamāgadhī, as might be expected, was partly a mixed language, showing signs of the influence of Śaurasenī, but, in all its essential points, its relationship with Māgadhī is undoubted. Māhārāshṭrī was closely connected with Ardhamāgadhī, which formed the connecting link between it and Māgadhī, but in its rather isolated position it struck out on somewhat independent lines. It is important to remember that it (under the name of Saurāshṭrī) was once the language of Gujarāt, before that country was overwhelmed by the invasion from the Midland.

Vidarbha, or Berār, the home of Māhārāshṭrī, was the seat of a powerful kingdom, whose rulers encouraged literature, not only in Sanskrit but also in the vernacular. Māhārāshṭrī received culture at an early period. In its native land it became the vehicle of some of the most charming lyrics ever composed in an Indian tongue; and its popularity carried it over the whole of Hindustān, where it was employed both for epic poetry and also by the later Jain religious writers. But it is best known from the Indian dramas, in which, while most of the vernacular prose was written in Śaurasenī, the language of the Midland, the songs are usually in Māhārāshṭrī[1].

The Apabhraṁśas.

The next and last stage of the Secondary Prākrits was that known as 'Literary Apabhraṁśa.' 'Apabhraṁśa,' meaning 'corrupt' or 'decayed,' was the title given by Indian grammarians, after the Prākrits had begun to receive literary culture, to the true vernaculars on which these polished literary dialects were founded. Ultimately, these Apabhraṁśas became themselves employed in literature, and were even studied by native grammarians, successors of those who in previous generations

[1] In the old Indian drama, Brāhmans, heroes, kings, and men of high rank are made to speak Sanskrit, other characters employing some Prākrit dialect.

had despised them. This was a mere repetition of history. Sanskrit became fixed, and in time ceased to be generally intelligible. Then the vernacular Pāli was used for popular literature. When literary Pāli became generally unintelligible, the vernacular Prākrit was employed for the same purpose. Prākrit itself became crystallized, and in the course of generations had to yield to Apabhraṁśa. While the earlier Prākrits had been manipulated for literary purposes by the omission of what was considered vulgar and by the reduction of wild luxuriance to classical uniformity, so that the result was more or less artificial, the Apabhraṁśas were not nearly so severely edited, and the sparse literature which has survived affords valuable evidence as to the actual spoken language at the time of its committal to writing. The modern vernaculars are the direct children of these Apabhraṁśas. The Śaurasena Apabhraṁśa was the parent of Western Hindī and Panjābī. Closely connected with it were Āvantī, whose head quarters were round what is now Ujjain, the parent of Rājasthānī; and Gaurjarī, the parent of Gujarātī. The remaining intermediate language, Eastern Hindī, is sprung from Ardhamāgadha Apabhraṁśa.

Turning to the Outer Band, an unnamed Apabhraṁśa was the parent of Lahndā and Kāshmīrī, the latter, as has been said, having as its base some Piśācha language akin to Shīnā, over which the modern language lies as a second layer. Sindhī is derived from a Vrāchaḍa Apabhraṁsa spoken in the country of the lower Indus, and Marāṭhī is the child of the Apabhraṁśa of Mahārāshṭra. In the east, the great Māgadha Apabhraṁśa is not only the parent of Bihārī in its proper home, but has also branched out in three directions. To the south it became Oṛiyā; to the south-east it developed into the Bengali of Central Bengal; while to the east, keeping north of the Ganges, its children are Northern Bengali, and, farther on, Assamese. These three branches can be distinctly traced. In some respects Oṛiyā and Northern Bengali preserve common features which have disappeared in Central Bengal.

Sanskrit.

Concurrently with the development of the Indo-Aryan vernaculars, we have Sanskrit, the literary language of the Brāhmanical schools, endowed with all the prestige which religion and learning could give it. In earlier times its influence was strongest in its proper home, the Midland. Allowing for phonetic corruption, the vocabulary of Śaurasenī Prākrit is practically the same as that of Sanskrit. The farther we go from the Midland the more strange words we meet, words which are technically known as *deśya* or

'country-born.' These, though Indo-Aryan, are not descended from the particular archaic dialect from which Sanskrit sprang, but belong to the vocabularies of the dialects of distant parts of India which were contemporary with it. On the other hand, the prestige of the literary Sanskrit has exercised a constant influence over all the Aryan vernaculars of India. Universally, but wrongly, believed to be the parent of all of them, the would-be children have freely borrowed words from the vocabulary of their adoptive parent, and this tendency received an additional impetus with the revival of learning which dates from the early part of the last century. In some of the modern languages it then became the fashion to eschew as much as possible all honest vernacular words derived from the Prākrits, and to substitute borrowed Sanskrit words, much as if a Frenchman were to substitute the Latin *siccus* for his own *sec*, or as if an Englishman were to use the Anglo-Saxon *hlāford* instead of 'lord.' Native grammarians call these borrowed words *tatsamas*, or 'the same as "that" (sc. Sanskrit),' while the true vernacular words derived from Prākrit are *tadbhavas*, or 'having "that" (sc. Sanskrit) for its origin.' We thus see that the Aryan portion of the vocabulary of a modern Indo-Aryan vernacular is composed of three elements: *tatsamas*, *tadbhavas*, and *deśyas*. The distinction is of some importance, for the literary language of some of them, such as Bengali, is so overloaded with the fashionable *tatsamas* that it may almost be called a national misfortune. For the sake of a spurious dignity the written word has been rendered unintelligible to the vast multitudes who have not received the education imparted by the higher schools.

Other languages have contributed their quotas to the Indo-Aryan vernaculars. Many words have been borrowed from Dravidian languages, generally in a contemptuous sense. Thus the common word *pillā*, 'a cub,' is really a Dravidian word meaning 'son.' The most important additions have come from Persian, and through Persian from Arabic. These are due to the influence of Mughal domination, and their use is universal. Every peasant of Northern India employs a few, while the literary Urdū of Lucknow is so full of them, that little of the true vernacular remains except an occasional postposition or auxiliary verb. A few words also have been borrowed from Portuguese, Dutch, and English, often in quaintly distorted forms. Few Englishmen would recognize the railway term 'signal' in *sikandar*, which also, as a true Hindostānī word, means 'Alexander the Great.'

Indo-Aryan vernaculars.

We thus arrive at the following list of the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars :—

	Number of speakers (1901).
A. Language of the Midland:	
Western Hindī	40,714,925
B. Intermediate languages:	
a. More nearly related to the Midland language.	
Rājasthānī	10,917,712
The Pahāṛī languages	3,124,681
Gujarātī	9,439,925
Panjābī	17,070,961
b. More nearly related to the Outer languages.	
Eastern Hindī	22,136,358
C. Outer languages:	
a. North-Western group.	
Kāshmīrī	1,007,957
Kohistānī	36
Lahndā	3,337,917
Sindhī	3,494,971
b. Southern language.	
Marāṭhī	18,237,899
c. Eastern group.	
Bihārī	34,579,844
Oṛiyā	9,687,429
Bengali	44,624,048
Assamese	1,350,846
Total	219,725,509

Of these, the Pahāṛī languages are offshoots of Rājasthānī spoken in the Himālayas. Kohistānī includes the mixed dialects of the Swāt and Indus Kohistāns. The Census of 1901 did not extend to these tracts, and hence few speakers were recorded. We now proceed to consider each of these forms of speech in the order of the above list.

Hindī.

The word 'Hindī' is very laxly employed by English writers. It properly means 'Indian,' and can be used to signify any Indian language. By Europeans it is sometimes reserved for a particular form of Hindostānī which will be described below, but is more often employed as a vague term to denote all the rural dialects of the three languages—Bihārī, Eastern Hindī, and Western Hindī—spoken between Bengal proper and the Punjab. In the present pages it is used only in the former of these two senses; that is to say, as meaning that form of Hindostānī which is the prose literary language of those Hindus who do not employ Urdū. In English 'Hindī' is specially applied to the languages of Oudh and of the Midland, and, to avoid the introduction of a strange terminology,

these are here called 'Eastern Hindī' and 'Western Hindī,' respectively. They are two quite distinct languages.

Western Hindī. Western Hindī is, therefore, the modern Indo-Aryan vernacular of the old Midland, i.e. of the Gangetic Doāb and the country to its north; and, as in ancient times, it is by far the most important of all the languages of India. It is true that speakers of Bengali exceed in number those whose vernacular is Western Hindī, but the forty millions shown above by no means exhaust the number of speakers of the latter. Bengali is confined to its own Provinces; but Hindostānī, the principal dialect of Western Hindī, is not only a local vernacular, but is also spoken over the whole of the north and west of continental India as a second language, a *lingua franca* employed alike in the court and in the market-place by every one with any claim to education. Hindostānī is that dialect of Western Hindī whose home is the Upper Gangetic Doāb, in the country round Meerut. The city of Delhi lies close to the southern border of this tract. Here the dialect was in general use, and from here it was carried everywhere in India by the lieutenants of the Mughal empire. It has received considerable literary cultivation at the hands of both Musalmāns and Hindus. The former employed the Persian character for recording it, and enriched its vocabulary with a large stock of Persian and Arabic words. When this infusion of borrowed words is carried to an extreme, as is the fashion, for instance, in Lucknow, the language is intelligible only to educated Musalmāns and to those Hindus who have been educated on Musalmān lines. This Persianized form of Hindostānī is known as Urdū, a name derived from the *Urdū-e muʿalla*, or royal military bazar outside Delhi Palace, where it took its rise. When employed for poetry, Urdū is called *Rekhta* ('scattered' or 'crumbled'), from the manner in which Persian words are 'scattered' through it. The extreme Persianization of Urdū is due to Hindu rather than to Musalmān influence. Although Urdū literature is Musalmān in its origin, the Persian element was first introduced in excess by the pliant Hindu Kāyasths and Khattīs employed in the Mughal administration and acquainted with Persian, rather than by Persians and Persianized Mughals, who for many centuries used only their own language for literary purposes[1]. In the Deccan, even where Dravidian languages are the principal vernaculars, Urdū is very generally employed by Musalmāns,

Urdū.

[1] See Sir Charles Lyall, in *A Sketch of the Hindustani Language*, p. 0.

and here Urdū literature took its rise. 'Dakhinī Hindostānī,' as it is called, differs somewhat from the modern standard of Delhi and Lucknow, and retains several archaic features which have disappeared in the north. During the first centuries of its existence Urdū literature was entirely poetical. Prose Urdū owes its origin to the English occupation of India, and to the need of textbooks for the College of Fort William. The Hindī form of Hindostānī was invented at the same time by the teachers at that college. It was intended to be a Hindostānī for the use of Hindus, and was derived from Urdū by ejecting all words of Arabic and Persian birth, and substituting in their place words borrowed or derived from the indigenous Sanskrit. Owing to the popularity of the first book written in it, and to its supplying the need for a *lingua franca* which could be used by the strictest Hindus without their religious prejudices being offended, it became widely adopted and is now the recognized vehicle for writing prose by those inhabitants of Upper India who do not employ Urdū. Although originally differing from that language merely in vocabulary, it has in the course of a century developed some idioms of its own, so that it is not often that one finds a native who can write both forms of Hindostānī with equal correctness. Indeed, there is one well-known book, written by a Muhammadan, which does not contain a single Arabic or Persian word from cover to cover, and which is nevertheless considered by Hindu purists to be written in Urdū, because idioms are found in it belonging to that form of the dialect, and not to Hindī.

Urdū, as becomes its origin, is usually written in a modified form of the Persian character, while Hindī is generally written, like Sanskrit, in the Deva-nāgarī character. While the former is enlisted into the service of both prose and poetry, the latter is employed only for prose. When a Hindu writes poetry he betakes himself to one of the naturally-born dialects of Eastern or Western Hindī, usually Awadhī or Braj Bhāshā. The name 'Hindostānī,' when connoting any particular form of speech, is properly reserved for a language whose vocabulary is neither excessively Persianized nor excessively Sanskritized.

The other dialects of Western Hindī are Bāngarū, Braj Bhāshā, Kanaujī, and Bundelī. The first is the language of the Bāngar, or highland of the South-eastern Punjab, immediately to the west of the Ganges. It is sometimes called Hariānī, and is much mixed with Panjābī and Rājasthānī. Of all the dialects, Braj Bhāshā is the nearest relative to Śaurasenī. It

is spoken round Mathurā (Muttra) and in the Central Gangetic Doāb. It has a copious literature, mainly poetical, and was the principal literary form of Western Hindī employed by Hindus before the invention of Hindī. Kanaujī is almost the same as Braj Bhāshā. It is spoken in the lower part of the Central Doāb as far down as, say, Cawnpore, and in the country to its north. Bundelī is the dialect of the greater part of Bundelkhand, and also of a good portion of the Narbadā valley in the Central Provinces. It has a respectable literature.

As languages, Western Hindī, and its neighbour Eastern Hindī, rival English in their flexibility and copiousness. When not spoiled, as Western Hindī too often is, by an excessive display of Arabic and Persian or of Sanskrit words, they are two beautiful, vigorous forms of speech, not overburdened by complicated grammars, and capable of expressing any idea which the mind of man can conceive with ease, elegance, and crystal clearness. They both have enormous native vocabularies, and each has a complete apparatus for the expression of abstract terms. Their old literatures contain some of the highest flights of poetry and some of the most eloquent utterances of religious devotion which have found their birth in Asia.

Rājasthānī.

Turning to the Intermediate languages, we first deal with those in which the language of the Midland is the predominant feature. Rājasthānī and Gujarātī may be considered together, as representing the flow of the inhabitants of the Midland to the south-west, to meet the sea. Rājputāna, in which Rājasthānī is spoken, is divided into many states and many tribes. Each claims to have a language of its own, but all these are really dialects of one and the same form of speech. They fall into four main groups—a northern, a southern, an eastern, and a western. The typical dialect of the north is Mewātī or Bighotā. Of all the dialects of Rājputāna it is, as might be expected, that which most nearly resembles Western Hindī. To the north-east it shades off into Braj Bhāshā, and to the north-west into Bāngarū. Mālvī, the main dialect of Southern Rājputāna, is spoken in Mālwā. Neither it nor Mewātī has any literature to speak of. In Eastern Rājputāna we have Jaipurī, with many sub-dialects, and many closely connected forms of speech with various names. The western dialect, Mārwāṛī, is by far the most important. It is the vernacular of Mārwār, Mewār, Bīkaner, and Jaisalmer, and its speakers, who are enterprising merchants and bankers, have carried it all over India. It is the most typical of the Rājasthānī dialects,

and has a copious literature, written in a peculiar character, the aspect of which is familiar to every Indian official who has had occasion to inspect the accounts of native bankers.

Pahāṛī.

Rājputāna has sent out many colonies into Northern India. The most important are the inhabitants of the Himālayas from Chamba in the Punjab to Nepāl. Some centuries ago bands of Rājputs at various times invaded and conquered these hills. They settled there and intermarried with the original inhabitants, on whom they imposed their language. The Rājasthānī here transplanted has developed on independent lines, and was no doubt influenced by the form of speech which it superseded. What that form of speech was we do not know, except that we have some old plays in one of the original languages of Nepāl. This was akin to what is now modern Bihārī. The modern Rājasthānī dialect now spoken in Nepāl is called by Europeans 'Naipālī'—a wrong name, for it is not the main language of the country but is spoken only by the ruling classes. The other inhabitants employ various Tibeto-Burman dialects. Its speakers call it 'Khas,' from the name of one of the tribes which employ it. Farther west these dialects are simply called 'Pahāṛī,' or 'the Language of the Hills.' We have a Western Pahāṛī spoken north of the Central and Eastern Punjab, and a Central Pahāṛī north of the United Provinces. To these Khas may be added, under the name of 'Eastern Pahāṛī.' Other offshoots of Rājasthānī are Gujarī, the language of the Gūjars wandering with their herds over the mountains of Kashmīr and the Swāt valley; and Labhānī, spoken by the Labhānās or Banjārās, the great carrying tribe of Central and Western India. There are numerous Gūjars in the plains of the Punjab, where they have given their name to two Districts, but these nowadays speak ordinary Panjābī.

Gujarātī.

Mārwār is bounded on the west by the Indian Desert, beyond which we find Sindhī, one of the Outer languages, but to the south we enter easily into Gujarāt. Gujarātī, the language of this country, is the most western of those over which the language of the Midland exercises sway, and at its base we can see distinct traces of the old Saurāshṭrī Prākrit, which belonged to the Outer Band. Gujarātī has a printed character of its own, modelled on the cursive form which Deva-nāgarī takes all over Northern India, especially in Mārwār. Owing to the survival of a number of ancient grammars, we have a connected history of the language from the time when it first came into existence as a modern Indo-Aryan vernacular some nine hundred years ago. Literature has always flourished in

Gujarāt from very early times, and the modern vernacular presents no exception. The Bhīls and the inhabitants of Khāndesh speak mixed forms of speech which are dialects of Gujarātī.

Panjābī.

Of all the Intermediate languages, Panjābī is the one which most nearly agrees with the modern speech of the Midland. It is spoken in the Central Punjab, and is the vernacular of the Sikhs. Immediately to its west lies Lahndā, an Outer language, and the change from the one to the other is most gradual. It is quite impossible to fix a definite boundary between these two, but we may take the seventy-fourth degree of east longitude as an approximate conventional dividing line. Lahndā once extended far to the east, but, as has been explained, was there superseded by the language of the Midland, whose influence gradually diminished as it went westwards. It is this mixed language which became the modern Panjābī. Its proper written character is related to that employed in Mārwār. It is known as *Laṇḍā*, or 'clipped' (quite a distinct word from *Lahndā*, the name of the language of the Western Punjab), and is distinguished for its illegibility when once it is put upon paper. Only its writer, and not always he, can read Laṇḍā as commonly scrawled. An improved, and legible, form of Laṇḍā is known as Gurmukhī. This was invented about three hundred years ago for writing the Sikh scriptures, and is now the character in ordinary use for printing, although the Persian and the Deva-nāgarī are also employed. The standard Panjābī is that spoken in the neighbourhood of Amritsar; and the only real dialect is Ḍogrī, the vernacular of the State of Jammu, and, with slightly varying inflexions, of a part of Kāngra. Of the languages connected with the Midland, Panjābī is the purest and most free from the burden of terms borrowed from either Persian or Sanskrit. While capable of expressing all ideas, it has a charming rustic flavour indicative of the national characteristics of the sturdy peasantry that use it.

Eastern Hindī.

The remaining Intermediate language is Eastern Hindī, which differs from the others in that it is based on the eastern languages of the Outer Band, and that the influence of the language of the Midland is not nearly so strong as in Rājputāna and the Punjab. Here the two elements meet in nearly equal proportions. It is the language of Oudh, of Baghelkhand, and of Chhattīsgarh in the Central Provinces, and has a long history behind it. It is the vernacular of the country in which the hero Rāma-chandra was born; and the Jain apostle Mahāvīra used an early form of it to convey his teaching to his disciples. The local Prākrit, Ardhamāgadhī, thus became the sacred

language of the Jains. Its modern successor, Eastern Hindī, through the work of a great genius, became the medium for celebrating the Gestes of Rāma, and, in consequence, the dialect employed for nearly all the epic poetry of Hindustān. It is spoken nowadays not only in its own tract, but is also used by uneducated Musalmāns far to the east—right into the heart of Bihār; and Oudh men, who are accustomed to travel to distant parts in quest of service, have carried it far and wide over the whole of India. It is commonly heard even in the streets of Calcutta and Bombay.

Eastern Hindī has a great literature, probably larger than that of any other of the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars; and this literature, being founded on the genuine tongue of the people, and acquiring no fictitious dignity by bastard additions of Sanskrit words, has reacted on the spoken language, so that the form of speech heard in the fields of Oudh possesses the characteristic beauties of poetry and clearness. Every Oudh rustic is soaked in his national literature, and quotations from his great writers fall more naturally from his lips than the words of Burns fall from those of a Scotsman. Overshadowed at the present day by the official Hindostānī, it has been studied by but few Europeans, but no one who has once wandered into its magic garden ever leaves it willingly.

In the Central Provinces, Eastern Hindī meets Marāṭhī and shades off into that language through a number of mixed dialects. It and Oṛiyā are the only forms of speech which are not separated from Marāṭhī by a distinct dividing line, and it thus still bears witness to the intimate relationship which existed between the Ardhamāgadhī and the Māhārāshṭrī Prākrits two thousand years ago.

Eastern Hindī has three main dialects. Besides the standard Awadhī spoken in Oudh, there is the Baghelī of Baghelkhand, and the Chhattīsgaṛhī of the eastern part of the Central Provinces.

Kāshmīrī.

It will have been noticed that the Outer languages have been divided in the table given on p. 364 into three sets, a north-western group, a southern language, and an eastern group. Owing to its somewhat isolated position, and to the influence of the Piśācha languages already referred to, the north-western group, although closely agreeing with the other two in its general structure, has struck out on independent lines. The most northern of the group is Kāshmīrī, the language of the State of Kashmīr. Tradition informs us that this country was originally inhabited by Piśāchas, who must have spoken a tongue allied to Shīnā; but at an early period it suffered an

invasion from the south, and was colonized by folk from the Punjab. The modern language fully bears this out. Although at the bottom we find a layer of Shīnā words[1] and idioms, this is almost entirely hidden by an overlayer of a second language, closely allied to the Lahndā of the Western Punjab. Owing to the large number of broken vowels which it possesses, and to the changes which they undergo through the influence of others which follow them but are themselves silent, Kāshmīrī is almost as difficult for a foreigner to pronounce as is English. It has an old literature of considerable extent, but the modern language has borrowed so freely from Persian and Arabic that the books written two or three centuries ago are hardly intelligible to natives at the present day. The bulk of the population is now Muhammadan, only a few Pandits preserving the memory of the ancient language. Kāshmīrī has two or three dialects, of which the most important is Kishtwāṛī.

Kohistānī. Kohistānī is the old language of the Indus and Swāt Kohistāns. It is now nearly superseded by Pashto, only a few tribes still employing it. Each of these has its own dialect. The country has not been thoroughly explored, and very little is known about these forms of speech. Like Kāshmīrī, they have a Shīnā basis, covered by an overlayer from the Western Punjab.

Lahndā. Lahndā or Western Panjābī is a language which appears under many names, such as Poṭhwāṛī, Chibhālī, Jaṭkī, Mūltānī, or Hindko. None of these names is suitable, as each indicates only the dialect of some special tribe or of some special locality. 'Lahndā,' i.e. 'Western,' has been lately suggested, and has been tentatively adopted, although it, too, is far from satisfactory. The name 'Western Panjābī' suffers from the disadvantage of suggesting a connexion which does not exist with Panjābī proper. Lahndā is spoken in the Western Punjab as far east as, say, the seventy-fourth degree of east longitude. It once extended much farther to the east, but has there been superseded by the Midland language, from which the modern Panjābī has sprung. There is no definite boundary between these two languages. As explained under the head of the latter, they merge into each other very gradually. If we take the conventional boundary line just suggested, we shall find plenty of Lahndā characteristics to its east, gradually diminishing as we proceed, and at the same time many traces of Panjābī for a considerable distance to its west. The population is mixed, and has been mixed for centuries. The Sanskrit

[1] The commonest words, such as those for 'father,' 'mother,' &c., are Shīnā, not Indian, at the present day.

writers had a very poor opinion of the Central and Western Punjab, although these tracts were not far from the holy Saraswatī. The inhabitants are described as possessing no Brāhmans, living in petty villages, and governed by princes who supported themselves by internecine war. The population was casteless, had no respect for the Vedas, and offered no sacrifices to the gods. They were flesh-eaters (a Piśācha characteristic) and hard drinkers, and their women were charged with polyandry like the Jats of the present day.

West of the Indus, up to the Afghān border, Lahndā under various names is spoken by Hindus, while the Pathān Musalmāns speak Pashto. Lahndā has two main dialects, one spoken north and the other south of the Salt Range. It has no literature. Its written character is, properly, the Laṇḍā also employed for Panjābī, but this has been nearly superseded by a modification of the Persian.

Sindhī.

Sindhī is the language of Sind and the neighbourhood. It is closely connected with Lahndā, and, owing to its isolated position, it preserves many phonetic and flexional peculiarities which have disappeared elsewhere. There was, in former days, a Piśācha colony in Sind, and traces of their language are still to be found in Sindhī, which is, in other respects, a typical speech of the Outer Band of languages. It has no literature to speak of, and has received little cultivation of any kind. The population which employs it being largely Musalmān, its vocabulary borrows freely from Persian; and, since the country has come under British rule, an adaptation of the Persian character has been employed for writing it, although Laṇḍā is also used for personal memoranda and accounts. Sindhī has four main dialects—Siraikī, spoken in Upper Sind; Lāṛī (the standard dialect) in Lāṛū or Lower Sind; Tharelī in the Thar or Desert; and Kachchhī in Cutch. The first approaches Lahndā, while Tharelī represents Sindhī merging into Mārwāṛī. Kachchhī is a mixture of Sindhī and Gujarātī, in which the former predominates.

Marāṭhī.

South of Sindhī the Outer Band of Indo-Aryan vernaculars is interrupted by Gujarātī, the Intermediate language which has reached the seaboard. South of Gujarātī, extending from near Damān along the coast of the Arabian Sea to beyond Goa, we come to the great daughter of Māhārāshṭrī Prākrit, the southern Indo-Aryan language, Marāṭhī. The Saurāshṭrī dialect of Māhārāshṭrī once covered Gujarāt, but has been superseded by the Midland language. We find, however, traces of Saurāshṭrī not only in Gujarātī, but probably also right down the coast as

far as the modern Marāṭhī extends. In the Bombay Presidency Marāṭhī covers the north of the Deccan plateau and the strip of country between the Ghāts and the Arabian Sea. It is also the language of Berār and of a good portion of the north-west of the Nizam's Dominions. It stretches across the south of the Central Provinces (except a small portion of the extreme south, in which Telugu is the language), and, in a very corrupt form, occupies most of the State of Bastar. Here it merges into Oṛiyā through the Bhatrī dialect of that language. It has to its north, in order from west to east, Gujarātī, Rājasthānī, Western Hindī, and Eastern Hindī. The first three are connected with the Midland, and Marāṭhī does not merge into them. On the contrary, there is a sharp border-line between the two forms of speech. In the east it shows several points of agreement with the neighbouring Chhattīsgaṛhī dialect of Eastern Hindī, and it shades off gradually into Oṛiyā, both these languages being based on Prākrits of the Outer Band. Oṛiyā is its near neighbour to the east. On the south lie Dravidian languages, and it is bounded on the west by the Arabian Sea. In Marāṭhī we first meet in general use a past participle, and its resulting past tense, of which the characteristic is the letter *l*. This extends through all the remaining languages of the Outer Band—Oṛiyā, Bengali, Bihārī, and Assamese. It is also found, in restricted use, in Gujarātī, alongside of the Midland form without the *l*, and is there one of the relics of the old Saurāshṭrī Prākrit. This *l*-participle, therefore, not only covers the whole of Aryan East India, but reaches, through an almost unbroken chain of dialects all imperceptibly shading off into each other, to the Arabian Sea. This illustrates the intimate relationship which exists among all these forms of speech; and although Assamese is widely different from Marāṭhī, and although a speaker of the one would be entirely unintelligible to a speaker of the other, a man could almost walk for 1,500 miles, from Dibrugarh to Goa, without being able to point (except, perhaps, in Bastar) to a single stage where he had passed from one language to another.

Marāṭhī has a copious literature of great popularity. The poets wrote in the true vernacular of the country, and employed a vocabulary mostly composed of honest *tadbhavas*. The result is that the language at the present day is rich in them; and though the scholars for whom the Marāṭhā country is famous have in later times striven with some success to heighten the style of the language by the use of *tatsamas*, these parasites have not obtained the complete mastery over the

literary form of speech that they have in Bengal. The country was not invaded by the Musalmāns till a comparatively late period, and was ultimately successful in repelling the invasion, so that the number of words borrowed from and through Persian is small. As Mr. Beames says, Marāṭhī is one of those languages which may be called playful. It delights in all sorts of jingling formations, and has struck out a larger quantity of secondary and tertiary words, diminutives and the like, than any of the cognate languages.

Standard Marāṭhī is printed in the Deva-nāgarī character, but for purposes of writing a current hand, known as *mōḍī* or 'twisted,' is in common use. It has three main dialects. The standard dialect, commonly called 'Deśī Marāṭhī,' is spoken in its greatest purity in the country round Poona. Sub-dialects of it are also found in the Northern and Central Konkan. In the Southern Konkan there is a distinct dialect known as 'Konkaṇī.' It differs so widely from standard Marāṭhī that some of its speakers claim for it the dignity of a separate language. To its south and west the Dravidian Kanarese is spoken, so that the Kanarese alphabet is generally employed for recording Konkaṇī. Natives also employ the Deva-nāgarī character for the same purpose, while the Portuguese missionaries of Goa have introduced the use of the Roman character among their converts. The Marāṭhī of Berār and of the Central Provinces is the third dialect. It agrees more closely with the standard of Poona, the main differences being those of pronunciation. To these forms of speech may be added Halbī, which, however, can hardly be called a true dialect. It is spoken in the State of Bastar and the neighbourhood by Dravidian tribes who have attempted to abandon their aboriginal tongues. It is a mechanical mixture of bad Marāṭhī, bad Oṛiyā, and bad Chhattīsgaṛhī, which varies in the proportions of its constituents from place to place. On the whole, Marāṭhī inflexions form its most prominent feature.

We now come to those languages of the Outer Band which are directly derived from the ancient Māgadhī Prākrit. They form the Eastern group of Indo-Aryan vernaculars, and are Bihārī, Oṛiyā, Bengali, and Assamese. Of these the first-named occupies the original home of the common parent, from which colonies have issued in three directions, to the south, the south-east, and the east, where each developed on its own lines into one of the other three.

Bihārī.

Magadha, the land where the Buddha first preached, and in which the famous Asoka had his capital city, corresponds to

what we now call the Districts of Patna and Gayā. To its north, across the Ganges, lies the land of Tirhut, known in ancient times as Mithilā. To its west lies the Bhojpur country, comprising the west of modern Bihār and the east of the United Provinces. It may be taken as extending to the degree of longitude passing a few miles west of the city of Benares. To the south of Magadha lie the two plateaux of Chotā Nāgpur, the northern coinciding with the District of Hazāribāgh, and the southern with that of Rānchī. To its east lies Bengal proper. With the exception of Bengal, all these tracts together form the home of the present Bihārī language. It has three dialects, Maithilī, Magahī, and Bhojpurī, the last of which differs considerably from the two others. Maithilī, which is spoken in Tirhut, has a most complicated grammatical system, its verb changing its form, not only with regard to the subject, but also with regard to the object. It has a small literature dating from the fifteenth century, and, when written by Brāhmans, has a character of its own akin to that employed for Bengali. The people who speak it are among the most conservative in India, and rarely emigrate from their overcrowded fields to other parts of the country. Their character is reflected in their language, which abounds in archaic expressions. The original Aryan language of Nepāl before the Rājput invasion was an old form of Maithilī. Magahī, the language of the ancient Magadha, or South Bihār, is also spoken in the northern or Hazāribāgh plateau of Chotā Nāgpur, immediately to its south. It resembles Maithilī in the complexity of its verbal conjugation and in general character; but, owing to the long Musalmān domination of this part of India, it is as a rule more flexible and less conservative. The language of Magadha is looked upon by the inhabitants of other parts of India as typically boorish. Although directly descended from the language in which Buddhism was first preached, it has no literature and no traditions, and its speakers are as a whole poor and uneducated.

Far different is Bhojpurī. This dialect is spoken in the east of the United Provinces and in West Bihār. It has also spread to the southern, or Rānchī, plateau of Chotā Nāgpur, where, under a slightly altered form, it is called Nagpuriā. The Bhojpurī of the United Provinces differs somewhat from that of Bihār; but over the whole area the dialect has the same characteristics, being a flexible form of speech, adapted for current use, easy to learn, and not overencumbered by grammatical subtilties. Here again the language reflects the

national peculiarities. The Bhojpurīs are as free from conservatism as the people of Tirhut are the reverse. They wander all over Northern India, and there is hardly a considerable town in which they do not possess a colony.

Apart from the peculiar character employed by the Tirhutiā Brāhmans, all the dialects of Bihārī are generally written in the current form of Deva-nāgarī known as 'Kaithī.'

Oṛiyā.

Oṛiyā is the language of Orissa and of the adjoining parts of Madras and the Central Provinces. It is spoken in an isolated part of India, has been but slightly affected by contact with other languages, and has changed little since the fourteenth century, at which period we find it in use in inscriptions. It has a considerable literature of some merit, and was formerly written by indenting marks with a stylus upon leaves of the talipot palm. On such a surface a straight indented line along the grain tends to cause a split; and this accounts for the characteristic of its peculiar alphabet, in which the long line familiar to readers of Deva-nāgarī is replaced by a series of curves.

Oṛiyā is a musical language, with a grammar which is simple but complete. It borrows very freely from Sanskrit, and the chief defect of its literary style is this overloading with *tatsamas*.

Bengali.

In its own home Bengali has a greater number of speakers than any other Indian language. In 1901, out of the forty-four and a half millions who returned this language as their vernacular, forty-four and a quarter millions inhabited the territories then subject to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (with the connected States) and the Bengali Districts of Assam. The remaining quarter million were scattered throughout India, mainly finding employment as clerks or the like. Over the huge area in which it is a vernacular, Bengali is by no means uniform. Its main dialectal division is not, however, according to locality, but lies between the literary and the spoken language. If we except the language employed by the Musalmān inhabitants of the eastern part of the Gangetic delta, the literary dialect is the same over the whole country. This is never used when speaking, except in formal addresses and the like. Even the most highly educated natives employ the colloquial dialect in their ordinary conversation. The literary form of the language differs from the colloquial not only in its highly Sanskritized vocabulary but in its grammar, in which the dead forms of three centuries ago are retained in a state of fictitious animation. This literary style dates from the revival of learning which took place in Calcutta, under English influences, at the commencement of the last century. Up to that time Bengal

had an indigenous poetical literature of its own, written in a purified form of the spoken vernacular. With the advent of the English there arose a demand for prose literature, and the task of supplying it fell into the hands of Sanskrit-ridden pandits. Anything more monstrous than this prose dialect, as it existed in the first half of the nineteenth century, it is difficult to conceive. Books were written, excellent in their subjects, eloquent in their thoughts, but in a language from which something like ninety per cent.[1] of the genuine Bengali vocabulary was excluded, and its place supplied by words borrowed from Sanskrit which the writers themselves could not pronounce. During the past fifty years there has been a movement, without much success, to reduce this absurd Sanskritization; but, still, at the present day many words current in literary Bengali are mere ideograms. The Bengali vocal organs are not adapted to the pronunciation of Sanskrit words, and so these words spell one thing, and, when read aloud, sound something quite different. Under such circumstances literary Bengali is divorced from the comprehension of every native to whom it has not been specially taught. It is this which is the official language of Government and of missionaries, and which (with few exceptions) is taught in the grammars written for European students. Bengalis themselves call their Sanskritized book-language 'sādhu-bhāshā,' i.e. the 'excellent speech'; but the adjective which they apply to anything approaching their true vernacular is the significant one of 'sweet.' It is this 'sweet' language which every one with a pen in his hand, be he European or native, endeavours to ignore. It is an instance of history repeating itself. In the old days the classical language was called *sanskrit*, 'purified,' but the epithet applied to the true vernacular Prākrit was *amia*, or 'nectar.'

The many dialects of spoken Bengali fall into three groups: the western or standard, the eastern, and the northern. Western Bengali is spoken in the country on both sides of the Hooghly and to the west. The centre of Eastern Bengali may be taken as the city of Dacca. It extends to the east into the Districts of Sylhet and Cāchār, and, southwards, to beyond Chittagong. The Bengali of Chittagong is very corrupt, and is quite unintelligible to an untravelled native of Calcutta. Farther inland, in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, there is a still more debased dialect called Chākmā, which is written in an alphabet akin to that of Burmese. Northern Bengali is

[1] This estimate is based on actual counting.

spoken north of the Ganges and at the lower end of the Assam valley. It is a dialect which, though closely connected with standard Bengali, really owes nothing to it. It is, by derivation, an intermediate speech between Bihārī and Assamese. In some respects it agrees with Oṛiyā rather than with the language of Calcutta.

Bengali and Assamese are written in very nearly the same alphabet, which is related to that employed by the Brāhmans of Tirhut. It is of the same stock as Deva-nāgarī, but has existed as an independent script since at least the eleventh century A. D.

Assamese.

The origin of Assamese has been described above. It is the language of the middle and upper parts of the Assam valley. It is more nearly related to colloquial than to literary Bengali; and its claim to be considered as an independent form of speech, and not as a dialect of that language, depends mainly upon the fact that it possesses an important literature. It has also several well-marked peculiarities of pronunciation. The literary style is happily free from the Sanskritisms which deface that of Bengali. The literature itself is of ancient date and is varied in its character, being particularly rich in historical works. Assamese has no real dialects, though it varies slightly from place to place. Māyāng, one of the languages spoken in the polyglot State of Manipur, may, however, be classed as a dialect of this language.

Dravidian languages.

The Dravidian race is widely spread over India, but all the members of it do not speak Dravidian languages. In the north many of them have become completely Aryanized, and have adopted the language of their conquerors while they have retained their ethnic characteristics. Besides these, Dravidians are almost the only speakers of two other important families of speech, the Muṇḍā and the Dravidian proper. Owing to the fact that these languages are nearly all spoken by persons possessing the same physical type, many scholars have suggested a connexion between the two groups of speech, but a detailed inquiry carried out by the Linguistic Survey of India has shown that there is no foundation for such a theory. Whether we consider the phonetic systems, the methods of inflexion, or the vocabularies, the Dravidian have no connexion with the Muṇḍā languages. They differ in their pronunciation, in their modes of indicating gender, in their declensions of nouns, in their method of indicating the relationship of a verb to its objects, in their numeral systems, in their principles of

conjugation, in their methods of indicating the negative, and in their vocabularies. The few points in which they agree are points which are common to many languages scattered all over the world.

Leaving, therefore, the fact of the Dravidian *race* speaking two different families of languages to be discussed by ethnologists, we proceed to consider those forms of speech which are called 'Dravidian' by philologists. Most of these are spoken in Southern India or in the hills of Central India. Two of them have found their way into Chotā Nāgpur and the Santāl Parganas, where they exist side by side with Muṇḍā dialects; and one, Brāhūī, has its home far to the north-west, in Baluchistān. The last was not known to Sanskrit writers, who were familiar with two great languages spoken in their time all over Southern India: namely, the *Andhra-bhāshā* and the *Drāviḍa-bhāshā*, the former corresponding to the modern Telugu, and the latter to the rest. This old division agrees with the classification of the modern vernaculars, which is as follows:—

	Number of speakers (1901).
A. Drāviḍa group:	
Tamiḻ	16,525,500
Malayāḷam	6,029,304
Kanarese	10,365,047
Koḍagu	39,191
Tuḷu	535,210
Toda	805
Kota	1,300
Kurukh	592,351
Malto	60,777
B. Intermediate languages:	
Goṇḍ, &c.	1,123,974
C. Andhra group:	
Telugu	20,696,872
Kandh	494,099
Kolāmī	1,505
D. Brāhūī	48,589
Total	56,514,524

The following general account of the main characteristics of the Dravidian forms of speech is taken, with one or two verbal alterations and omissions, from the *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*:—

'In the Dravidian languages all nouns denoting inanimate substances and irrational beings are of the neuter gender. The distinction of male and female appears only in the pronoun of the third person, in adjectives formed by suffixing the pronominal terminations, and in the third person of the

verb. In all other cases the distinction of gender is marked by separate words signifying "male" and "female." Dravidian nouns are inflected, not by means of case terminations, but by means of suffixed postpositions and separable particles. Dravidian neuter nouns are rarely pluralized. Dravidian languages use postpositions instead of prepositions. Dravidian adjectives are incapable of declension. It is characteristic of these languages, in contradistinction to Indo-European, that, wherever practicable, they use as adjectives the relative participles of verbs, in preference to nouns of quality or adjectives properly so called. A peculiarity of the Dravidian (and also of the Muṇḍā) dialects is the existence of two pronouns of the first person plural, one inclusive of the person addressed, the other exclusive. The Dravidian languages have no passive voice, this being expressed by verbs signifying 'to suffer," &c. The Dravidian languages, unlike the Indo-European, prefer the use of continuative participles to conjunctions. The Dravidian verbal system possesses a negative as well as an affirmative voice. It is a marked peculiarity of the Dravidian languages that they make use of relative participial nouns instead of phrases introduced by relative pronouns. These participles are formed from the various participles of the verb by the addition of a formative suffix. Thus, "the person who came" is in Tamiḷ literally "the who-came."'

Tamiḷ.

Tamiḷ, or Arava, covers the whole of Southern India up to Mysore and the Ghāts on the west, and reaches northwards as far as the town of Madras and beyond on the east. It is also the vernacular of the northern part of Ceylon[1], and has been widely spread over Further India by emigrant coolies. As domestic servants its speakers are found all over India. It is the oldest, richest, and most highly organized of the Dravidian languages: plentiful in vocabulary, and cultivated from a remote period. It has a copious literature, which is couched in a somewhat artificial dialect known as 'Shen' (i.e. 'perfect'), in contrast with the colloquial form of speech, which is called 'Kodum' or 'Codoon' (i.e. 'rude'). Only a few insignificant dialects of the spoken language have been recorded. The name 'Tamiḷ' and the word 'Drāviḍa' are both corruptions of the same original, 'Drāmiḍa.' The language has an alphabet of its own.

Malayāḷam.

Malayāḷam is a modern offshoot from Tamiḷ, dating from the ninth century A.D. It is the language of the Malabar coast, and has one dialect, Yerava, spoken in Coorg. Its most noteworthy features are that, except among certain tribes, it has dropped all the personal terminations of verbs, and that the words which it has borrowed from Sanskrit are particularly numerous. It has a large literature, and employs the old Grantha character used in Southern India for Sanskrit writings.

Kanarese

Kanarese is the language of Mysore and of the neighbouring

[1] In 1901 the number of Tamiḷs in Ceylon was 953,535.

portion of the Ghāt country, including the southern corner of the Bombay Presidency. It, also, has an ancient literature, written in an alphabet closely connected with that employed for Telugu. It has two petty dialects, Badaga and Kurumba, both of which are spoken in the Nīlgiris. Koḍagu, the language of Coorg, is also considered by some to be a dialect of Kanarese. It lies midway between it and Tuḷu, the language of a portion of the South Kanara District of Madras. Toda and Kota are petty forms of speech spoken by small tribes on the Nīlgiris.

Koḍagu. Tuḷu. Toda, Kota.

Kurukh, or Orāoñ, is the vernacular of a Dravidian tribe in Chotā Nāgpur and the adjoining portions of the Central Provinces. It is more closely connected with ancient Tamiḷ and with ancient Kanarese than with any other of the great Dravidian languages. The people themselves say that they and the Maler actually did come to their present seats from the Kanara country. Malto is the language of these Maler, a tribe nearly related to the Orāoñs, and now settled, still farther north, near Rājmahāl on the bank of the Ganges. Neither of these two languages has any literature or any alphabet. The Roman alphabet is usually employed for recording them.

Kurukh. Malto.

The Goṇḍ language is spoken in the hill country of Central India. Many of the Goṇḍs have abandoned their own dialects and have taken to Aryan forms of speech. The true Goṇḍ is intermediate between the Drāviḍa and Andhra tongues, and has numerous dialects. It is unwritten, and has no literature.

Goṇḍ.

Telugu is the only important Andhra language. It is the principal form of speech in the eastern part of the Indian Peninsula, from the town of Madras to near Orissa. It is also spoken in the east of the Nizam's dominions and in the extreme south of the Central Provinces, extending into Berār. It has an extensive literature, written in a character of its own, akin to Deva-nāgarī, which, like Oṛiyā, owes its numerous curves to the fact that it has been written on palm-leaves.

Telugu.

Kandh, or Kuī, is spoken by the Khonds of the Orissa Hills. It, like Kolāmī and other petty dialects of distant Berār, is quite uncultivated.

Kandh. Kolāmī.

Brāhūī, also an uncultivated language, is heard in the central highlands of Baluchistān. Owing to its isolated position, it has developed on lines of its own; but, although its speakers show none of the Dravidian ethnic characteristics, it is undoubtedly a Dravidian language. Ethnologists differ as to whether the speakers of Dravidian languages entered India from the north-west, or from the hypothetical Lemurian continent, now under the Indian Ocean, in the south. If they

Brāhūī.

came from the north-west, we must look upon the Brāhūīs as the rear-guard; but if from the south, they must be considered as the advance-guard of the Dravidian immigration. Under any circumstances it is possible that the Brāhūīs alone retain the true Dravidian ethnic type, which has been lost in India proper by admixture with other aboriginal nationalities such as the Muṇḍās. This is suggested by the linguistic circumstances, and is worthy of investigation.

The Muṇḍā languages.

The Muṇḍā languages are often called 'Kolarian,' a name which is founded on a false theory, and which is, moreover, misleading. The name 'Muṇḍā' was first given to this family of speech by the late Professor Max Müller long before 'Kolarian' was invented. These languages are among those which have been longest spoken in India, and may, with great probability, claim to be aboriginal. It is of importance to note that there exists a common element in them, on the one hand; and in the Mon-Khmer languages of Further India, in the dialects of certain wild tribes of Malacca and Australonesia, and in Nicobarese, on the other, although the two sets of speech are not otherwise connected. This is best explained by the supposition that a common language was once spoken over both Further India and a great part of India proper, and that in the latter it is represented at the present day by the Muṇḍā languages, while in Further India, Malacca, Australonesia, and the Nicobars[1] it was overwhelmed by an invasion of other languages (much as was the case with the original Piśācha language of Kashmīr), and there now shows only sporadic, though convincing, traces of its former general use.

The Muṇḍā languages are agglutinative, and preserve this characteristic in a very complete manner. Suffix is piled upon suffix, and helped out by infix, till we obtain words which have the meaning of a whole sentence. For instance, the word *dal* means 'strike,' and from it we form the word *da-pa-l-ocho-akan-tahen-tae-tiñ-a-e*, which signifies 'he, who belongs to him who belongs to me, will continue letting himself be caused to fight.' Not only *may* we, but we *must* employ this posy of speech, if, for instance, my slave's son was too often getting himself entangled in affrays. As compared with Dravidian languages, Muṇḍā languages have a series of semi-consonants which correspond to the so-called 'abrupt' tone of the languages of Further

[1] Endeavours have also been made to carry this old language still farther, and to show a connexion between the Muṇḍā languages and those of Australia itself. This interesting question is still under discussion.

India. The distinction of gender is between animate and inanimate nouns, and not between rational and irrational ones. The noun has three numbers—a singular, a dual, and a plural; and the cases of the direct and indirect object are indicated by suffixes added to the verb, while the noun remains unchanged. The numerals are counted by twenties and not by tens. As in Dravidian, the pronoun of the first person plural has two forms, one including, and the other excluding, the person addressed, but in other respects the pronouns are altogether different. There is no agreement whatever between the conjugations of the Muṇḍā and of the Dravidian verb. The latter is simple, while the former exhibits an almost bewildering maze of participial forms, which in every case are converted into tenses by the addition of the letter *a*. Finally, the Muṇḍā languages do not possess anything corresponding to the Dravidian system of negative conjugation.

The principal home of the Muṇḍā languages (the *race* is much more widely spread) is Chotā Nāgpur. Speakers are further found in the adjoining Districts of Bengal, Orissa, Madras, and the Central Provinces, with an outlying colony far to the west in the Mahādeo hills north of Berār. The following is a list of these forms of speech:—

	Number of speakers (1901).
Kherwārī	2,784,395
Kūrkū	87,675
Khaṛiā	101,986
Juāng	10,853
Savara	157,136
Gadaba	37,230
Total	3,179,275

Kherwārī.

Of these, Kherwārī is much the most important. It has several dialects, which are often wrongly considered to be distinct languages. They are Santālī or Hâr, Muṇḍārī, Bhumij, Birhâr, Kōḍā, Ho, Tūrī, Asurī, Agariā, and Korwā. Of these, Santālī and Muṇḍārī have received much attention from scholars, and we have excellent grammars of them, as well as a dictionary of the former. Ho is the dialect of the Laṛkā, or 'fighting,' Kols of Singhbhūm, while the others are spoken by petty forest tribes. The home of Santālī is the Santāl Parganas, but it is also found much farther south, down the western border of Bengal proper into Northern Orissa. The rest are all spoken in Chotā Nāgpur and in the neighbouring hill tracts of Orissa and the Central Provinces.

Kūrkū. Kūrkū is the Muṇḍā language of the Mahādeo Hills. With Khariā and Juāng it forms a linguistic sub-group, but is more nearly related to Kherwārī than are the other two. It, also, has received some study, and we have an excellent grammar of it. Khaṛiā. Khaṛiā is found in the south-west corner of Rānchī and in the adjoining States of Jashpur and Gāngpur. The tribe extends much farther south, but they have as a rule exchanged their own language either for the Dravidian Kurukh or for some broken Aryan patois. The language is dying out, and is nowhere spoken in its original purity. It has borrowed freely from neighbouring forms of speech, and has been compared to a palimpsest, the original writing of which can only be deciphered with some difficulty. Juāng. Juāng resembles Khaṛiā. It is the language of a small wild tribe in the Orissa Hills. From the leaf-garments of its speakers it is sometimes called 'Patuā.' Savara, Gadaba. Savara and Gadaba are two languages spoken in Madras territory close to the Orissa border. Very little is known concerning them; but it is plain that they are much mixed with the Telugu spoken round about them, and they may probably be grouped as akin to Khariā and Juāng. The Savaras are an ancient and widely spread tribe, who were known to the Indo-Aryans in Vedic times, and are mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy. Only a few of them still adhere to their own language.

None of the Muṇḍā languages have any proper written character or any literature. The Roman character is generally employed for recording them.

The Indo-Chinese languages. The languages of Further India, together with those spoken in Tibet, are usually grouped under the general name of 'Indo-Chinese[1],' which includes two distinct families, the Mon-Khmer and the Tibeto-Chinese. The original home of all these people seems to have been North-western China, between the upper courses of the Yang-tse-kiang and the Ho-ang-ho, and from here they spread out in all directions. So far as British India is concerned, they followed river valleys in their migrations, down the Chindwin, the Irrawaddy, and the Salween into Burma, down the Brahmaputra into Assam, and up the Brahmaputra into Tibet. From Tibet they occupied the Himālayas, and are now found in Nepāl and in other mountainous tracts lying south of the main watershed. Three successive waves of completed migration can be traced. First, there was,

[1] A complete list of the Indo-Chinese and remaining languages dealt with is given in Appendix I, pp. 390-4.

in prehistoric times, a Mon-Khmer invasion into Further India and Assam. Secondly, there was the first Tibeto-Chinese invasion, that of the Tibeto-Burmans, into the same localities and into Tibet, the period of which is also unknown. Thirdly, there was the second Tibeto-Chinese invasion, that of the Tai branch of the Siamese-Chinese into Eastern Burma, which took place in force about the sixth century A.D. Finally, another Tibeto-Burman invasion, that of the Kachins, was actually in progress when it was stopped by the British conquest of Upper Burma. The later invaders drove the first to the seaboard or into the hills overlooking the river valleys; and thus we find the earliest immigrants to India, the Mon-Khmers, confined at the present day to the coast country of Pegu and a few mountain tracts in Assam and Burma, while the Tais, who found most room for expansion in the direction of Siam, have driven the Mon-Khmers of that country to the sea-coast also.

All the Indo-Chinese languages are monosyllabic. Each word consists of one syllable, and refuses to be classed under any of the well-known categories of noun, verb, and particle. It expresses an indefinite idea, which may be employed to connote any part of speech, according to its position in the sentence and its relation to its neighbours. The words being monosyllables, the necessary paucity of different sounds is eked out by tones, each sound being raised or lowered in pitch, shortened or prolonged, according to the idea which it is intended to convey. For instance, the Shan monosyllable *kau* means 'I,' 'be old,' 'nine,' 'a lock of hair,' 'indifference to an evil spirit,' 'an owl,' 'a *butea*-tree,' 'complaining of any thing,' 'the shin,' 'the balsam plant,' or 'a mill,' according to the tone with which it is pronounced. The number of tones differs in various languages. Shan has fifteen, while Western Tibetan is said to have only one. The most characteristic of these languages, Chinese and Siamese, belong to what is known as the isolating class—i.e. every monosyllable has a distinct definite meaning of its own, and complex ideas are expressed by compounding two or more together. For instance, 'he went' would be indicated by three words, one meaning 'he,' another connoting the idea of 'going,' and a third connoting the idea of 'completion.' Others belong to what is known as the agglutinating class, in which certain words are now only used as suffixes to indicate relationship of time or space, and cannot be employed independently with meanings of their own. It is as if the word 'completion' in 'he-going-completion' had lost

its original meaning, and was now only used as a sign to indicate that the idea connoted by some other word performing the function of a verb was also the idea of a completed action.

The Mon-Khmer languages.

We have already mentioned the fact that the Mon-Khmer languages agree with some Malacca dialects and with Nicobarese in having at their base another non-related language which is connected with Muṇḍā forms of speech, and which must have been the aboriginal language of those tracts of Further India which were conquered by the Mon-Khmers. The Mon-Khmer languages are numerous in Indo-China. In British India they are only four in number. The most important is Khāsi, spoken in the hill country south of the Central Assam valley, where it has survived as an island amid a sea of Tibeto-Burman speech. It has been given a literature by the missionaries who work among its speakers; and this language, which a century ago was rude, uncultured, and unwritten, is now one of the Indian vernaculars recognized in the examination halls of the Calcutta University. It is written in the Roman character and has 177,827 speakers. The other important language is the Mon or Talaing of Pegu and the coast districts round the Gulf of Martaban (174,510 speakers). Palaung (67,756) and Wa (7,667) are two smaller dialects spoken in the eastern hills of Upper Burma.

Khāsi.

The Tibeto-Burman languages. Bhoṭiā, Tibetan.

The Tibeto-Burman branch of the Tibeto-Chinese languages is very widely spread. It includes two great languages, Tibetan and Burmese, each of which has an alphabet of its own akin to Deva-nāgarī, as well as an extensive literature. Tibetan is one of several dialects grouped under the general name of 'Bhoṭiā,' from Bhoṭ, the Indian name of Tibet. Besides the Bhoṭiā of Tibet or Tibetan, there are the Bhoṭiā of Bāltistān or Bāltī, that of Ladākh or Ladākhī, that of Sikkim or Denjong-ke, that of Bhutān or Lho-ke, and so on. Connected with Bhoṭiā, but not dialects of it, are a number of Himālayan languages of which the most noteworthy are Newārī (the main language of Newār, i.e. Nepāl), Rong or Lepcha (of Sikkim), Mangar, and Murmī. Most of these are really Nepāl languages, whose speakers (many of them soldiers in our Gurkha regiments) are temporary visitors to British India. This group is called the 'Non-pronominalized Himālayan languages,' to distinguish it from another, of which Kanāwarī, Limbū, and the so-called Kirāntī forms of speech are the most important members, and which Hodgson classed as the 'Pronominalized Himālayan languages.' Although this latter group is in the main Tibeto-Burman in character, it also shows manifest traces

Pronominalized languages.

of an older substratum having striking points of resemblance to the Muṇḍā tongues. There are the same distinctions between things animate and inanimate, the same system of counting in twenties, the same occurrence of a dual number, and of a double set of plural forms for the first personal pronoun, and the same tendency to conjugate a verb by means of pronominal suffixes. All this cannot be mere coincidence. It inevitably leads to the conclusion that these Himālayan tracts were once inhabited by tribes speaking a language connected with those now in use among the Muṇḍās, who have left their stamp on the dialects spoken at the present day. We have already seen how a Muṇḍā basis also exists in the Mon-Khmer languages, which has been traced into Malacca, Australonesia, and even Australia; and this line of Himālayan dialects offers an important clue to ethnological inquirers.

North Assam Sub-branch.

West of Bhutān we come across another Tibeto-Burman group, spoken by wild tribes of the hills to the north of the Assam valley. These are Aka, Dafiā, Abor-Miri, and Mishmi. In the lower Assam valley itself and the country to its south (omitting the Khāsi Hills) we have the Bodo group, spoken by 596,411 people, of which the principal languages are Bâṛâ or Mech, the tongue of scattered tribes in the valley, Gāro of the Gāro Hills, and Tipurā or Mrung of Hill Tippera. Then we have the Nāgā languages of Central and Eastern Assam. The most important of these is Mikir of the Mikir Hills in the valley itself. To the south and south-east there are the Nāgā Hills, inhabited by many fierce tribes whom we are slowly winning to civilization, and each possessing a language of its own. Such are Angāmi, Semā, Āo, Lhotā, and Namsangiā, with fourteen or fifteen others. None of them, of course, has any literature, and of many of them little but the names and a few words are known. The Angāmi Nāgās are those with whom we have fought most, and with whom we are best acquainted. East of Assam, in the confused mountainous country which forms the north of Upper Burma, are a number of cognate dialects grouped together under the general name of Kachin or Singpho. These wild Kachins were migrating into Burma itself, and had already penetrated far into the Shan States, when we annexed that country.

Bodo group.

Nāgā group.

Kuki-Chin group.

South of the Nāgā Hills lies the State of Manipur, and here we first meet the group of languages known as Kuki-Chin. Meithei, the official language of the State, is the only one of them which possesses an alphabet and a literature. Owing to the existence of the latter its development has been retarded,

so that it is in an older stage than the rest. The others are scattered in colonies over Manipur and Cāchār, and extend south, through the hill country, as far as the Sandoway District of Burma. Since they occupied this latter area, there has been a constant tendency to expand northwards. On the west they were barred by the sea, and on the south and east by the stable government of Burma. Thus wave after wave has been driven to the north by those who were behind. The Kuki-Chins of Manipur and Cāchār once occupied the hills immediately to the south, and these are now held by the Lushais, who were originally pushed forward from the south-east and drove them on. This progress has been arrested by our conversion of Cāchār into settled territory. There are more than thirty Kuki-Chin languages, some with several dialects. The most important, both politically and in the numbers that speak them, are Lai in the Chin Hills, and Lushei or Dulien in the Lushai Hills. The Kuki-Chin are the most typical of all the Tibeto-Burman languages. They do not possess a real verb, the conception being expressed with the aid of a verbal noun. When a speaker of Lushei, for instance, wishes to say 'I go,' he says 'my going'; and for 'I went,' 'my going-completion.'

Burmese. Passing over a number of hybrid dialects we come to Burmese, which is the predominant language, even where others are spoken, all over Upper and Lower Burma, except in the Chin Hills, the Shan States, and the Kachin country north of Bhamo. It, and the related Mrū, are the vernaculars of 7,498,794 people. It has many local dialects, but, with one or two exceptions, these are little known. The most important dialect is Arakanese, which branched off from the main stem at an early date, and has developed on independent lines. Burmese has a considerable literature, of which the poetry is written in a special and difficult dialect; and a written character of its own, derived from the ancient square Pāli, but abounding in curved lines, and connected, through the Pāli, with Devanāgarī. The development of the spoken language has proceeded more rapidly than that of the written language, so that words are nowadays seldom pronounced as they are spelt.

Shan. The only important Tai language of British India is Shan, spoken in the south-east of Upper Burma, and closely allied to Siamese. A Tai tribe called the Āhoms made themselves masters of Assam in the year 1228 A.D. They were followed by other Shan colonies, which still survive and speak their own dialects. The most important is Khāmtī. Āhom has been

dead for centuries, though its literature still survives and can be interpreted by a few priests of the old religion. The Āhoms were pagans, but the rest of the Shans, like the Burmese, are Buddhists. Shan has a voluminous literature, and a written character based on that of Burmese.

The Karen tribe is principally scattered over Lower Burma, though its members are also found in the Shan Hills. Their language likewise belongs to the Siamese-Chinese branch of the Tibeto-Chinese family. The generally accepted theory regarding this form of speech is that it is connected with Chinese though not descended from it, while the people are pre-Chinese.

Miscellaneous languages.

The remaining vernaculars of India proper are unimportant. The Selungs, a tribe of sea-gipsies inhabiting the Mergui Archipelago, speak a language akin to Malay. Such, also, is Nicobarese, which has, however, like Mon-Khmer, a substratum of Muṇḍā. Some scholars class this as a Mon-Khmer language with Malay corruptions. Two languages have not yet been classed by philologists. These are Andamanese and Burushaski. The former is really a group of languages which are agglutinating, make free use of prefix, infix, and suffix, and are adapted only to the expression of the more simple ideas. Burushaski is spoken in the extreme north-west of India on the borders of Turkistan, by the inhabitants of Hunza-Nagar. No one has hitherto succeeded in tracing a connexion between it and any other known form of speech. It has an elaborate grammar, and its most characteristic feature is the frequent use which is made of pronominal prefixes, so as sometimes to alter greatly the appearance of a word. The country in which it is spoken did not fall within the operations of the Census of 1901, and hence no speakers of it were recorded.

The so-called 'Gipsy' languages have nothing to do with European Romani. They are a number of dialects spoken by wandering tribes, often of very bad reputation. Some are mere thieves' jargons, others are hybrids developed in journeys from place to place, and some are real dialects of well-known languages.

In Aden we find Arabic and Somali spoken. The former belongs to the Semitic and the latter to the Hamitic family. They hardly fall within the lines of the present inquiry.

G. A. GRIERSON.

APPENDIX I

I. LIST OF THE INDO-CHINESE LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN BRITISH INDIA AND NEPAL

Family, Branch, and Sub-branch.	Group and Sub-group.	Language.	Total Number of speakers.	Where chiefly spoken in British India.
MON-KHMER FAMILY.	. . .	Mon, Taling or Peguan.	174,510	Burma.
		Palaung.	67,756	„
		Wa.	7,667	„
		Khāsi.	177,827	Assam.
TIBETO-CHINESE FAMILY. **TIBETO-BURMAN BRANCH.** **Tibeto-Himālayan Sub-branch.**	**Tibetan Group.** (Many of these are not vernaculars of British India.)	Bhoṭiā of Tibet, or Tibetan.	35,818	Punjab States, Punjab, United Provinces, Bengal, and Kashmīr (Census figures corrected. Not vernacular).
		Bhoṭiā of Bāltistān, or Bāltī.	130,678	Kashmīr.
		Bhoṭiā of Ladākh, or Ladākhī.	90	Punjab (not vernacular).
		Sharpā Bhoṭiā.	4,407	Bengal (not vernacular).
		Bhoṭiā of Sikkim, or Denjong-ke.	8,825	Bengal States.
		Bhoṭiā of Bhutān, or Lho-ke.	9,150	Bengal (Census figures corrected. Not vernacular).
		Bhoṭiā (others).	35,822	Kashmīr State.
		Lāhulī.	2,441	Punjab (Census figures corrected).

Family, Branch, and Sub-branch.	Group and Sub-group.	Language.	Total Number of speakers.	Where chiefly spoken in British India
TIBETO-CHINESE FAMILY (*cont.*). **TIBETO-BURMAN BRANCH** (*cont.*). **Tibeto-Himālayan Sub-branch** (*cont.*).	**Non-pro-nominalized Himālayan Group.** (Most of the languages of this group really belong to Nepāl. The presence of Padhī, Kāmī, and Mānjhī is accidental. Kāmī and Mānjhī are the names of Nepāl tribes, and it is doubtful if the names also denote languages.)	Gūrung.	7,481	Bengal and Assam.
		Murmī.	32,167	Bengal.
		Sunwār.	5,265	,,
		Mangar.	18,476	Bengal and Assam.
		Newārī	7,873	Bengal.
		Padhī, Pahrī, or Pahī.	268	Assam.
		Rong or Lepcha.	19,291	Bengal.
		(?) Kāmī.	11	Assam.
		(?) Mānjhī.	902	Bengal.
		Toto.	170	,,
	Pronominalized Himālayan Group. *Eastern Sub-group.* (All the languages of this sub-group really belong to Nepāl. The presence of many of them in British India is accidental.)	Dhīmāl.	611	,,
		Thāmī.	319	,,
		Limbū.	23,200	,,
		Kirāntī languages, viz.		
		Yākhā.	1,366	,,
		Khambū. Jimdār.	43,954	,, These two were classed together in the Census of 1901.
		Bāhing.		Nepāl. No Census figures.
		Bālālī.		,,
		Sāngpāng.		,,
		Lohorong.		,,
		Lambī-chhong.		,,
		Wāling.		,,
		Chhing-tāng.		,,
		Rūng-chhen-būng.		,,
		Dūng-mālī.		,,
		Rodong.		,,
		Nāchhe-reng.		,,
		Kūlung.		,,

Family, Branch, and Sub-branch.	Group and Sub-group.	Language.	Total Number of speakers.	Where chiefly spoken in British India.
TIBETO-CHINESE FAMILY (*cont.*). **TIBETO-BURMAN BRANCH** (*cont.*). **Tibeto-Himālayan Sub-branch** (*cont.*).	**Pronominalized Himālayan Group** (*cont.*). *Eastern Sub-group* (*cont.*).	Thūlung.		Nepāl. No Census figures.
		Chaurasya.		,,
		Khālıng.		,,
		Dūmī.		,,
		Unclassed.	64	Assam.
		Vāyū or Hāyū.	114	,,
		Bhrāmū.	15	,,
		Chepang.		Nepāl. No Census figures.
		Kusūndā.		,,
		(?) Thāksyā.		,, Classification doubtful.
	Western Sub-group. (All the languages of this sub-group belong to the Western Himālayas. At the Census of 1901 all but the first were classed under Tibeṭan. Hence separate figures are not available for all of them. In six cases the estimates of the Linguistic Survey are shown instead.)	Kanāwarī or Multhānī.	19,525	Punjab. Census figures.
		Kanāshī.	980	Punjab. Figures are estimates.
		Manchātī or Paṭnī.	2,441	Punjab. Census figures.
		Rangloī, Gondla, or Tinūn. Chamba Lahulī Bunān.	7,072	Punjab. Census for the three combined under name of 'Lahulī.'
		Rangkas or Saukiyā Khun.	614	United Provinces. Figures are estimates.
		Dārmiyā.	1,761	,,
		Chaudāngsī.	1,485	,,
		Byāngsī.	1,585	,,
		Janggalī.	200	,,
North-Assam Sub-branch.		Aka.	26	Assam.
		Daflā.	805	,,
		Abor-Miri.	40,829	,,
		Mishmi.	71	,,
Assam-Burmese Sub-branch.	**Bodo Group.**	Bāṛā, Mech, or Plains Kachārī.	239,458	Assam and Bengal.

Family, Branch, and Sub-branch.	Group and Sub-group.	Language.	Total Number of speakers.	Where chiefly spoken in British India.
TIBETO-CHINESE FAMILY (*cont.*). TIBETO-BURMAN BRANCH (*cont.*). **Assam-Burmese Sub-branch** (*cont.*).	**Bodo Group** (*cont.*).	Lālung.	16,414	Assam.
		Dimā-sā.	19,940	„
		Chutiā.	2,364	„
		Gāro.	185,940	Assam and Bengal.
		Rābhā.	20,243	Assam.
		Tipurā or Mrung.	111,974	Bengal and Assam.
		Morān.	78	Assam.
	Nāgā Group. *Nāgā-Bodo Sub-group.*	Mikir.	83,620	„
		Empeo or Kachchā Nāgā.	6,604	„
		Kabui.	4	„
	Western Nāgā Sub-group.	Angāmi.	27,865	„
		Kezhāmā.	1,546	„
		Rengmā.	5,617	„
		Semā.	5,830	„
	Central Nāgā Sub-group.	Āo.	28,135	„
		Lhotā or Tsontsü	16,962	„
		Thukumi.	26	„
		Yachumi.	35	„
	Eastern Nāgā Sub-group.	Tableng.	198	„
		Tamlu.	1,545	„
		Mojung.	152	„
	Nāgā Unclassed.	(Includes Namsangiā and many others.)	69,641	„
	Kuki-Chin Group. *Meithei Sub-group.*	Manipurī, Meithei, Kathe, or Ponnu.	272,997	Assam and Bengal.
	Old Kuki Sub-group.	Rāng-khol.	4,766	Assam.
		Hallām.	3,693	Bengal.
		Andro.	1	Assam.
		Mhār.	169	„
		Chaw.	215	Burma.
	Northern Chin Sub-group.	Thādo or Jangshen.	3,399	Assam.
		Sairāng.	71	„
	Central Chin Sub-group.	Zahao.	3,216	„
		Lushei or Dulien.	72,142	„
		Banjogī.	560	Bengal.
		Pankhu.	113	„
	Southern Chin Sub-group.	Yindu.	43	Burma.
		Khyang.	414	Bengal.
		Khāmi or Khwey-mi.	25,863	Burma.
		Anu.	775	„
		That.	67	„
		Kuki (unspecified).	53,880	Assam and Bengal.

Family, Branch, and Sub branch.	Group and Sub-group.	Language.	Total Number of speakers.	Where chiefly spoken in British India.
TIBETO-CHINESE FAMILY (*cont.*). **TIBETO-BURMAN BRANCH** (*cont.*). **Assam-Burmese Sub-branch** (*cont.*).	*Unclassed Languages* (*cont.*).	Chin (unspecified).	181,765	Burma.
	Kachin Group.	Kachin or Singpho.	67,340	"
	Kachin-Burma Hybrids.	Szi Lepai.	756	"
		Lashi.	84	"
		Maru.	151	"
		Maingtha.	465	"
	Other Hybrids.	. .	56,979	"
	Burma Group.	Mrū.	23,898	Bengal and Burma.
		Burmese.	7,474,896	Burma and Bengal.
SIAMESE-CHINESE BRANCH.	**Sinitic Group.**	Karen.	887,875	Burma.
	Tai Group.	Siamese.	19,536	"
		Lü	19,380	"
		Khün.	42,160	"
		Shan.	751,772	"
		Khāmtī.	1,490	"
		Phākial.	289	Assam.
		Norā.	2	"
		Tai-rong.	12	"
		Aiton.	1,569	"

II. List of Minor Languages spoken in British India

Family, Branch, and Sub branch.	Group and Sub-group.	Language.	Total Number of speakers.	Where chiefly spoken in British India.
MALAYO-POLYNESIAN FAMILY.	**Malay Group.**	Selung or Selon.	1,318	Burma.
		Nicobarese.	6,513	Nicobars.
SEMITIC FAMILY.	. . .	Arabic.	42,881	Hyderābād and Aden.
HAMITIC FAMILY.	. . .	Somali.	5,530	Aden.
UNCLASSIFIED LANGUAGES.	. . .	Andamanese.	1,882	Andamans.
		Gipsy languages.	344,143	Hyderābād, Berār, Bombay, Central Provinces, and Mysore.
		Burushaski.	. . .	Hunza-Nagar (no Census was taken of this tract).
		Others.	125	

APPENDIX II

SELECTED AUTHORITIES

GENERAL. Nearly all the languages mentioned in this chapter are fully described in the volumes of the Linguistic Survey of India. For each dialect there is a grammar and a selection of specimens. A general account of the languages of India, more full than that contained in the foregoing pages, will be found in chapter vii of the *Report on the Census of India*, 1901.

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CHAPTER III

RELIGIONS

Vedic period; c. 1500–200 B.C.

THE literary records of the religions of India begin with the Veda, which is not, as is sometimes supposed, a body of primitive popular poetry, but rather a collection of artificially composed Hymns, the work, in the main, of a priestly class. Its tone generally is ritualistic, the Hymns being intended for use in connexion with the Soma oblation and the fire-sacrifice. In the Veda the powers and phenomena of Nature are invoked as personified gods, or even as impersonal existences. The ritual to which these Hymns were an accompaniment was by no means of a simple type, though much less highly developed than in the succeeding period.

The Aryan religion.

The Indo-Aryans brought little theology with them from their original home beyond the mountain barriers of India. A few gods already in a state of decadence, the worship of ancestors, and some simple rites are all that they possessed in common with their western kinsfolk, among whom their connexion with the Iranians was most intimate, as is shown by the common knowledge of geography and its nomenclature. Recent study of the Indian dialects indicates at least two succecsive waves of invasion into India—the older, now represented by the speakers of Kāshmīrī, Marāthī, Bengali, and Oriyā; the later by those who use Panjābī, Rājasthānī, Gujarātī, and Western Hindī, who came in like a wedge through the earlier tribes, and settled about the Saraswatī. Dr. Grierson has ingeniously suggested that the contests between these successive bodies of immigrants are represented in the Veda by the struggle of the rival priests, Visvāmitra and Vasishtha, and by the war of the Kauravas and Pāndavas, which forms the subject of the Mahābhārata. This theory would account for much of the varying character of the cults represented in the older sacred literature.

The Vedas.

The Rig-veda, with its supplement, the Sāma-veda, was composed when the Aryans had reached the point of junction of the Punjab rivers with the Indus; the Black and White Yajur

veda when they had reached the neighbourhood of the Sutlej and Jumna; the Atharvan, combining the lower beliefs of Aryans and aborigines, when the new-comers had penetrated as far as Benares.

Vedic theology.

Theology, as we find it in the Veda, begins with the worship of the things of heaven, and ends with the worship of the things of earth. We have, first, the worship of the sky gods; then of those that rule the atmosphere; lastly, of those that rule on earth. Under the first class comes the worship of the sun in various forms, as Sūrya, 'the glowing one'; Savitar, 'the enlightener'; Bhaga, 'the giver of blessings'; and Vishnu, who, except in the kindliness of his nature, has little in common with his later form as one of the Hindu triad. In another form as Pūshan, god of agriculture, roads, and cattle, who is also known as Kapardin, 'he of the braided hair,' he forms a link between the Vedic gods and Siva. Dyaus, the shining sky, the Zeus of the Greeks, receives less special worship than might have been expected. In Varuna as the sky god a higher plane is reached. He sits enthroned in the vault of heaven; the sun and stars are the eyes with which he sees all that passes on earth. He, more than any of his brother gods, realizes the conception of personal holiness as an ideal for mankind.

Among the mid-air gods, Indra gained his ascendancy on Indian soil, where the increasing dependence of an agricultural people on the periodical rains popularized his worship. As a war god he fought in heaven against the demon that dispersed the rain clouds, and was thus adopted by the Kshattriyas to lead them on earth in their campaigns against the aborigines.

Great as are these gods of sky and air, greater still are the earth-born gods: Agni, the fire god, as manifested in the sacrifice, and Soma, the moon-plant (*Sarcostemma viminale*, or *Asclepias acida* of botanists), the worship of which is based on its intoxicating qualities. The latter came to be identified with the moon, a theory still farther developed in the post-Vedic mythology.

With Yama we reach a stage of distinct anthropomorphism. He might have lived for ever, but he chose to die, and was the first to point out to his descendants the way to the other world. To his heaven, guarded by two monstrous dogs, the souls of the departed are conveyed, and are adored on earth as the Pitri, or sainted dead. To retain their place in the abodes of the blessed, the souls need constantly to be refreshed by the pious food-offerings of their descendants. Hence arose the

Srāddha, or periodical feast of the dead, which has had far-reaching effects in the development of the theory of sacrifice.

The gods departmental; Pantheism.

Thus the Vedic gods, like those of Homer, were departmental deities, each nominally invested with a special sphere of action; but their offices were constantly being confounded, and the function of one deity was without hesitation attributed to another. The worshipper, in fact, never cared to determine the relative positions of his gods. Swayed by the impulse of the moment, he invokes now one, now another, to relieve him from danger or to confer a blessing. Hence the beginnings of Indian Pantheism, of which the first literary record is the famous Purusha Hymn of the Rig-veda. But, combined with these pantheistic ideas, there was in Vedic times a groping after one Supreme Being. Even at this time the deepest thinkers began to see dimly that the Ātman, or Spirit, pervaded all things, and that the world and even the gods themselves were but manifestations of it. Thus at the close of the Vedic period philosophers had gained the idea of a Father-god, known as Prajāpati, or Visvakarman, names which in the older Hymns are merely epithets applied to particular gods. This theory was farther developed in the next period, that of the Brāhmanas.

The Brāhmana period; *c.* 800–500 B.C.

A Brāhmana is a digest of the dicta on questions of ritual traditionally ascribed to the earlier teachers, and intended for the guidance of priests. In this period the prevailing tone is in direct contrast to the graceful poetry and naïve speculation of the Vedic singers. The atmosphere is now that of religiosity rather than of religion. The Aryans were by this time permanently settled in Madhya-desa, the 'Middle Land,' or Upper Gangetic valley. This was the birthplace of the special form of faith known as Brāhmanism, which in this connexion means the ritualistic and philosophical development of Vedism. It had its roots in the older Hymns, but it was a new form of faith with a new philosophy added. The old theory of the Ātman was developed, until all forces and phenomena were identified with one Spiritual Being, which when unmanifested and impersonal is the neuter Brahma; when regarded as a Creator, the masculine Brahmā; when manifested in the highest order of men, Brāhmana, the Brāhman Levite class.

The supremacy of the priesthood.

This supremacy of the priestly class had its origin in the Purohita (*praepositus*, 'he that is placed in front'), the family priest, who, as ritual developed, took the place of the house-father, by whom the earlier and simpler worship had been conducted. The priests of the Rig-veda were not as yet

organized into a profession, nor did they claim their office by hereditary right. But the period of the Brāhmanas shows a rapid development of their pretensions. We are told that there are two kinds of gods, the Devas and the Brāhmanas, the latter regarded as deities among men. With this new theology was combined the dogma of the supremacy of sacrifice. 'The sun would not rise,' says the Satapatha Brāhmana, 'if the priest did not make sacrifice.' When we meet it first in the Indian ritual, sacrifice is merely a thank-offering; then it comes to be regarded as a means of nourishing the Pitri, or the gods; finally, a means of wresting favours from them. This naturally resulted in the exaltation of sacrificial ritual. Every religious act must be accompanied by its special Mantra, or formula, each word of which is momentous, each tone fraught with mystery.

Theology and worship in the Brāhmanas.

The writers of this period concern themselves little with theology; what they are interested in is worship. Their gods are much the same as those of the older Hymns, but they extended the pantheon by the admission of allegorical personifications, spirits, demons, and goblins. These, though not specifically referred to in the early Hymns, are not necessarily a new creation. The Atharva-veda is evidence, if evidence be needed, that such beliefs are the stock-in-trade of the hedge-priest among all races at an early stage of culture.

Life after death.

As for eschatology, hell with its torments is well known: 'or else the wicked man will be re-born in some wretched state of being, metempsychosis appearing in this way under the form of an expiation. The good man goes to Svarga, or the community of some god; the sojourn with Yama is not forgotten[1]'; but the fate of the dead is nowhere clearly defined. We read of the weighing in a balance of the dead man's good and evil deeds; or we are told that he has to pass between two raging fires, which consume the evil man and let the good pass by.

Human sacrifice.

One remarkable legend in the Brāhmanas embalms a tradition of human sacrifice. The tale of Harischandra tells how the king was cured of his leprosy by the purchase of Sunahsephas, who was to be offered as a sacrifice to appease the wrath of Varuna. The boy, when led to the stake, prays to the gods for deliverance; they loose him from his bonds and cure the king's disease. It is certain that human sacrifice prevailed among the Indo-Aryans. In a more primitive form it existed until quite recent days among the Khonds and other forest

[1] Barth, E. T., p. 42.

tribes of the Central Indian hills, by whom, like the Mexicans before the conquest and many savage races, the Meriah or victim was solemnly immolated, and fragments of the corpse distributed over the fields to promote the fertility of the crops. Even now, in dark corners of the land, occasional sacrifices of human victims to the goddess Kāli are recorded.

Theology in the Upanishads.

'In the Vedic Hymns,' writes Dr. Hopkins, 'man fears the gods. In the Brāhmanas man subdues the gods, and fears God. In the Upanishads man ignores the gods and becomes God.' But, as the same writer goes on to point out, 'if one took these three strata of thought to be quite independent of each other he would go amiss. Rather, it is true that the Brāhmanas logically continue what the Hymns begin; that the Upanishads logically carry out the thought of the Brāhmanas.' Nor does this statement rightly define the historical order of the theological development, because, though no definite chronology exists, it seems fairly certain that the date of the earliest Upanishad, or exposition of the hidden spiritual doctrine, is not much later than the most modern additions to the Vedic canon. The speculations of the sages of the Brāhmana period were extended in this way: the Ātman, or 'soul' of the Brāhmanas, is now identified with Brahma, or the holy principle which animates Nature; in other words, the Ātman replaces the personal Prajāpati. True knowledge leads to supreme bliss by absorption into Brahmā, and this is combined with the theory of transmigration, which was fully established when Buddha arose, for he accepted it without question. This was not so much a new philosophy as a new religion, a religion without rites and ceremonies, involving existence without pain of desire, life without end, freedom from re-birth. 'The spirit of the sage becomes one with the Eternal; man becomes God[1].'

The anti-Brāhmanical reaction.

While, during the period represented by the Brāhmanas, priests were engaged in elaborating the cultus, and philosophers in studying the nature and fate of the soul, the mass of the people were little affected by such speculations, and the time was ripe for change. The reformation assumed a twofold shape: first, the rise of the two so-called 'heretical' movements, which culminated in Buddhism and Jainism; secondly, the almost contemporaneous evolution of the sectarian gods. The bright and happy life of the early Aryans, as reflected in the Vedas, had been succeeded by a period of priestly ascendancy. The mass of legend, largely framed in the interest of the

[1] Hopkins, pp. 239, 241.

dominant class, which forms the history of the time, seems to show that the Brāhmans, at least in the original seat of their power, had repressed the Kshattriya, or warrior, class. The Vaisyas were regarded as little better than contributories to the funds by which the sacrificial system was maintained; the Sūdras were quite beyond the pale of salvation. Thus for the majority of the people the future was hopeless. They were told that the misery of this present life was the result of sins committed in some previous birth; though unavoidable now, it might be alleviated in some future state by bribing the priesthood to perform a sacrifice. The Aryan Holy Land was parcelled out among a number of petty chieftains, who waged internecine war, one against the other. The prevailing tone of feeling was as pessimistic as the systems of the philosophers.

Gautama, the Buddha, c. 596–508 B.C.

The leader of one of these movements of reform was Gautama, the son of a petty prince, or headman, of a group of villages occupied by the Sākyas, one of the many Kshattriya clans in the tarai, or swampy lowlands at the foot of the Lower Himālayas. The story of his life, which can only with difficulty be disentangled from the legends which have grown round the real facts, has been often told. He is said to have enjoyed in his early years all that a life of sensuous ease could provide. Suddenly his conscience was stirred by a profound sense of the vanity of human life. Self-mortification was at this time taking the place of sacrifice, and he embraced the only course open to men of his class, which might lead to a higher spirituality—in other words, he became a Yogi, or wandering ascetic. Thereby, at the very outset of his career, he accepted the current philosophy, that a man's object should be to avoid reincarnation, and that it is Karma, 'action,' the control of passion, in short, the building up of character, which conditions any future birth. So far his hope was, as is the aim of the Hindu ascetic, merely to win salvation for himself, not to save his fellow men. Suddenly, after a course of mortification he is 'enlightened,' a view quite foreign to the thought of his day, which regarded the mechanical use of cultus and formula, uninterrupted from birth to death, as the road to salvation. Then he announced the Fourfold Truth—that life is the vanity of vanities; that birth and re-birth, the cycle of reincarnation, are the result of passion and desire; that to escape these evils desire must be destroyed by what he called the Eightfold Path—right belief, right resolve, right word, right act, right life, right effort, right thinking, right meditation. This was the Gospel which the Master, now become Buddha, 'the Enlightened One,' preached during some five-and-

forty years' wanderings in Magadha, the modern Bihār, and the neighbourhood of Benares. The chronology of his life is most uncertain. He is said to have reached the age of eighty-eight years, and the date of his death is fixed by the last critic, Mr. V. A. Smith, about 508 B.C.

Buddhism; its origin. The religion thus founded, like Jainism, is not a religion in the common sense of the term. Both are rather, in their earliest form, monastic organizations, orders of begging fraternities, like the Dominicans and Franciscans. The monastic system was not an innovation. It was a development of the last four successive stages (*āsrama*) of the Brāhmanical schools, that of the Sannyāsī, or ascetic, the only difference being that the Brāhmanic mendicants never formed themselves into such large organizations as the Buddhists and Jains. The similarity, in fact, between the practices of the two sects arose from the circumstance that both followed the same model. On the rise of Brāhman ascendancy it seems that a tendency prevailed to restrict the entry into the stage of an ascetic to members of the priestly classes. This probably led to the growth of non-Brāhmanic orders, originally intended for members of the warrior class, to which the founders of Buddhism and Jainism both belonged. Eventually persons of other castes were admitted. It is easy to understand that these movements had their origin, not in the upper Ganges valley, the Holy Land of Brāhmanism, but in the east country, Magadha, where Brāhman influence was less predominant, and where the Kshattriya class was regarded as superior to that of the priest. Antagonism would naturally arise between the old and the new orders, and would ultimately compel the new-comers not only to discard the Brāhmanic sacrificial cultus, but even to question the authority of the Vedas. When this stage was reached, their exclusion from the pale of Brāhmanism was inevitable.

Buddhism; its relation to caste. It would be a mistake to suppose that Buddhism and Jainism were directed from the outset consciously in opposition to the caste system. Caste, in fact, at the time of the rise of Buddhism was only beginning to develop; and in later days, when Buddhism commenced its missionary career, it took caste with it into regions where up to that time the institution had not penetrated. It must also be said that the lay members of these new orders, though they looked for spiritual guidance to their own teachers, retained the services of their Brāhman priests to perform the domestic services at birth, marriage, and death. Even at the present day many Jains permit *connubium* with a family which follows the Brāhmanic rule. Such

a woman during her married life continues the religious rites amid which she was born.

Buddhist ethics.

The ethics of Buddhism, again, were not the invention of the Master. Even so early as the time of the Satapatha Brāhmana, which had its origin in the same part of the country as Buddhism, we find a forecast of the teaching of Buddha. Much of the terminology is the same, without, of course, the technical Buddhist connotation; and among the teachers special mention is made of the Gautamas, a family name of the Sākyas, Buddha's tribe. The rules which the Master announced as the Truths and the Paths were in a large measure common to Brāhmanical ethical writers. The sanctity of animal life (*ahinsa*), for instance, is an old Hindu belief, arising directly from the principle of metempsychosis, which links together in one chain all living creatures, gods and demons, men and animals.

Buddhist theology and psychology.

In its theology and psychology Buddhism ignored the speculations of the priestly thinkers. Buddha does not deny the existence of the gods; he simply declines to discuss the question. He leaves it to the priests to avert the vengeance of the gods, or to win from them boons which in his view are valueless. His standpoint in such matters is the indifference of the layman. In his metaphysics, again, he does not concern himself with the origin of things; rather he takes them for granted. He is more concerned with the practical matter of salvation. He evades the question of a supernatural Creator by explaining the Universe as Will and Idea, and placing Karma, or the ethical doctrine of retribution, in the place of a divine controlling Intelligence.

The Buddhist way of salvation.

His way of salvation is different alike from that of the Brāhman or the Jain. 'Knowledge,' writes Dr. Hopkins[1], 'is wisdom to the Brāhman; asceticism is wisdom to the Jain; purity and love is the first wisdom to the Buddhist.' Nor, again, was his faith in conflict with the other religions of his time. The two systems, Buddhism and Brāhmanism, co-existed for some fourteen centuries after the death of the Master. Certain kings and certain eras were specially Buddhistic, but the historical evidence for the continuous existence of Brāhmanism side by side with Buddhism after the period of Alexander (327 B.C.) is conclusive.

Causes of the spread of Buddhism.

The question may then be asked—How did a creed so pessimistic as Buddhism win the enthusiasm of the people? All it seemed to offer was the denial of the existence of the

[1] p. 306.

soul; and ignoring the question of the extinction of being, it fixed the aim of the believer in Nirvāna, which meant to the Master release from that sinful condition of mind which would otherwise, according to the mystery of Karma, be the cause of renewed individual existence. What the new creed brought was the message of freedom from the Brāhmanic law of sacrifice, and it enjoined the observance of a high moral code. It was a rule of practical benevolence, gradually displacing the early ideal of mere personal salvation, and extending its blessings to all who accepted its teaching. Slowly the message spread from the Kshattriya class, to which it was first given, to the man in search of peace, whatever his race or caste might be. Most of all, perhaps, its popularity rested on the magnetic personality of the Master, whose life was spent in active benevolence, and round whom by degrees centred a body of most entrancing legend. As the faith came to be influenced by foreign beliefs, such as Gnosticism, Zoroastrianism, and Christianity, the Buddha was regarded as a divine being, on whose perfections the believer might meditate, a personal Saviour whom he might adore. These were beliefs quite opposed to the sentiment of the age, which in later times the reformed Brāhmanism was likewise forced to adopt as one of the distinctive notes of its teaching.

The Sangha, or Congregation of Monks. Again, the strength of Buddhism largely depended on the Sangha, or Congregation of the Monastic Order. This was an institution quite alien to Brāhmanism, which, even to this day, has never dreamed of forming a Convocation. Its constitution was probably of gradual growth. At any rate, by the time of Asoka we find it a well-organized body, in possession of canonical books. The primary object of this Convocation was to frame a code of discipline for the monastic communities. But, as so often happens in similar organizations, it fell more and more under the control of precisians, and the simple rules which provided for the discipline of the monks in the period immediately succeeding the death of its founder became burdensome. By degrees the rule of life came to be even more restrictive than the Brāhmanical caste system, and ended by being a formidable barrier against spiritual independence.

Buddhism, a state religion. The history of the Buddhist Councils by which Church government was founded rests mostly on legend. All that seems well established is that about this time a profound change occurred in the politics of Northern India, which led to the formation of a great military monarchy, that of the

Mauryas, which by the time of Asoka (*c.* 269–232 B.C.) had extended its limits much beyond the bounds of Brāhmanism. This monarchy was the creation of an adventurer, who is said to have been of Sūdra origin, and his dynasty was thus disposed to ally itself with a non-Brāhmanical order, whose aims were cosmopolitan, in contrast to the exclusiveness of Hinduism. Buddhism under Asoka thus became the state religion of the Mauryas; but it is doubtful if it really gained by its absorption into political life. The accession of worldly influence was naturally accompanied by a falling off in spirituality. To all appearance, in the period between 200 B.C. and 100 A.D. the propaganda seemed successful. It was at this time that the great ecclesiastical buildings, like the monasteries and the Stūpas at Sānchi and Bharhut, with which the history of Indian architecture begins, were erected, and the inscriptions with their records of donations by believers attest the influence of the faith. Another important development in this period was the production of images of the Buddha, an art probably originating in the Punjab under Greek influence, later on to be adopted by Hindus and Jains for the adornment of their myriad temples.

Buddhism as a missionary religion.

The transformation of a local cult into a world-wide religion was the work of Asoka alone. In Ceylon the faith introduced in the time of his contemporary, King Devanāmpriya Tisya, made rapid progress, and its adherents now number more than two millions. Thence it spread to Burma and Siam, the conversion of the former dating from the middle of the fifth century A.D. The farther progress of the faith to China and Japan lies outside the limits of the present sketch.

Later Indian Buddhism.

Returning to its fortunes in India—Buddhism secured the support of the great King Kanishka, under whom a Council was held at Jullundur about 100 A.D., or a little later. In this Council the Sinhalese branch was not represented. About this time the Mahāyāna school, which in an incipient stage was already in existence, came into prominence. In fact, the period of Kanishka marks the beginning of the decay of Indian Buddhism. 'The point of divergence of the two schools,' writes Dr. Waddell[1], 'was the theistic Mahāyāna doctrine, which substituted for the agnostic idealism and simple morality of Buddha a speculative theistic system with a mysticism of sophistic nihilism in the background. Primitive Buddhism practically confined salvation to the few; the Mahāyāna extended salvation to the entire universe. Hence the new faith

[1] p. 10.

was called the Great Vehicle, Mahāyāna; the other, in contempt, the Hīnayāna, or Imperfect Vehicle, which could carry few to Nirvāna, and which they alleged was fit only for low intellects. This, the modern Tibetan form of the faith, represents the influences of the Bhagavad-gītā and Sivaism,' with much more from a still lower order of belief.

Buddhism in decay.

What we know of the later history of Indian Buddhism is derived from the abundant sculpture and epigraphical records, and an extensive Nepalese, Tibetan, and Chinese literature. Of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, Fa Hian (399–413 A.D.) found the two religions working side by side, and Brāhman priests honoured equally with Buddhist monks. Hiuen Tsiang (629–45 A.D.) describes how Brāhmanism was gaining the ascendancy over the rival faith. Buddhism was most flourishing in the Ganges-Jumna Doāb, then ruled by the powerful monarch Harshavardhana, or Sīladitya. The actual decay of Buddhism seems to have set in from about 750 A.D. In the eleventh century it still held its ground in outlying provinces, like Kashmīr and Orissa, and the Pāl kings of Bihār remained true to the faith till the conquest of the province by Bakhtiyār Khiljī in 1199 A.D. The final establishment of Muslim power led to its complete disappearance from Northern India. In Western India Buddhism was in the ninth century a living religion, favoured by the authorities, and it seems to have survived till the middle of the twelfth century, when the Saiva revival was directed against both Buddhists and Jains.

Causes of the decline of Buddhism.

We can only speculate on the causes which led to the almost complete disappearance of this once dominant religion from the land of its birth. One fact seems certain, that although in some places its adherents may have suffered from active persecution, Buddhism died chiefly by reason of natural decay, and from the competition of new sects which arose under the influence of the reformed Brāhmanism. The original creed was perhaps too simple and, once the immediate pressure of Brāhmanism was removed, not sensuous enough to satisfy a people to whom a form of worship like that of Krishna was more attractive. It demanded from its followers a standard of morality much in advance of their stage of culture. It involved the discontinuance of sacrifice, and of the myriad methods by which the Hindu has ever tried to win the favour or avert the hostility of his gods. It abolished such a vague entity as Brahma, into whom every Hindu hopes to be absorbed, and it substituted Nirvāna, or extinction, as the end of all

things. Jainism, as we shall see, by its democratic constitution, retained a hold on the people which Buddhism failed to secure.

Buddhism at the present time.

Out of nearly nine and a half million Buddhists enumerated at the last Census, all but about 300,000 are in Burma. They exist in small numbers along the north and north-east frontiers of Bengal, and in the Punjab districts of Spiti, Lahul, and Kanāwar, on the lower slope of the Himālayas, where there is a considerable Tibetan element in the population. All along the Bengal frontier Buddhism is being gradually pushed back by Brāhmanism. In Nepāl it is still a powerful element, in spite of the steady opposition exercised against it by the Hindu ruling dynasty. The Burmese Buddhists are generally regarded as belonging to the Southern School, but the influence of the Northern School has contributed to mould the religion of the province in its present form. Here, though active and well organized, and educating in a somewhat imperfect way a large proportion of its youths, it is in the main of a debased type. While some sympathetic observers have found much to praise, others describe it as 'a thin veneer of philosophy laid over the main structure of Shamanistic belief. Nāt, or demon worship, supplies the solid constituents that hold the faith together; Buddhism supplies the superficial polish. In the hour of great heart-searchings the Burman falls back on his primaeval beliefs.' Attempts have been made to minimize the hostility shown to us by the priesthood during the rebellion which followed our occupation of the Upper Province. But, considering the close relations that existed between the monks and the royal Court, it is safe to accept the opinion of Mr. Lowis, that 'there were few more pertinacious and dogged opponents to the British rule in the new territory than the wearers of the yellow robe.'

Survivals of Buddhism in Bengal.

Some attention has been recently given to a supposed survival of Buddhism among the Sarāks of Bengal. Their name is said to be derived from the Sanskrit Srāvaka, 'a hearer,' a term used by the Jains to define a layman, by the Buddhists for the second order of monks residing in monasteries. In Orissa the Sarāks worship Chaturbhuja, 'the four-armed one,' a title now applied by Hindus to Vishnu, but said to be identified by the Sarāks with Buddha. A similar origin has been assigned to the Dharma worship in Western Bengal. These beliefs have clearly some affinity to Buddhism or Jainism. How far they may have been transmitted through a Vaishnava medium is not clear.

Jainism.

Jainism is the second of the 'heretical' movements which led to the establishment of the non-Brāhmanic orders, organized as a protest against the exclusion of all but Brāhmans from the ascetic fraternities. Like Buddhism, it had its rise in Magadha, and its founder, like Gautama, was drawn from the warrior class. The two teachers were contemporaries, the life of Vardhamāna extending from about 599 to 527 B.C. He is said to have been the disciple of an earlier saint, Pārsvanātha, the rules of whose order did not satisfy his ideas of stringency, one of the cardinal points of which was the custom of absolute nudity. The natural inference is that Vardhamāna, who on the establishment of his order gained the name of Mahāvīra, 'the great hero,' was only the reformer of a sect which had its origin in a still earlier protest against Brāhman monopoly of the ascetic order. The title which he afterwards assumed, Jina, 'the victorious,' gave a name to the order which he founded.

Jainism contrasted with Buddhism.

The resemblances between Jainism and Buddhism are due, not to imitation, but to the fact that the basis of both was the same. In both the goal is Nirvāna, but the term has a somewhat different connotation in the two beliefs. With the Buddhist it implies extinction; with the Jain, escape from the body, not from existence. The moral rules imposed upon neophytes are much the same in both orders. The fivefold vow of the Jains prescribes sanctity of animal life; renunciation of lying, which proceeds from anger, greed, fear, or mirth; refusal to take things not given; chastity; renunciation of worldly attachments. In its metaphysics Jainism is more closely allied to the Sankhya philosophy than is Buddhism, the former recognizing a duality, eternal matter being opposed to eternal spirit. The Jain is more careful of animal life even than is the Buddhist, and to him are due those curious institutions, known as Pinjrapols, or animal hospitals, in which creatures of all kinds, even vermin, are protected and fed. Buddha, as we have seen, laid no stress on asceticism, while among the Jains it survives in a repulsive form.

The Jain schism.

The most important event in the history of the order is the schism, which led to the separation, maintained to this day, of the Svetāmbara, or 'white-clothed' faction, who are found in the north and west of India, from the Digambara, or 'those clothed with the sky'—in other words, the naked ascetics of the south, who are probably the older. The literatures of the two factions are quite distinct, the older sacred books, the Angas and Pūrvas, being possessed only by the Svetāmbaras. The

first Jain Council, held at Pātaliputra, the modern Patna, about 310 B.C., is said to have framed the Jain canon, and from this time was laid the foundation of the schism, which did not finally occur till early in the first century A.D. During the mediaeval period, Jainism secured much political influence. It became the state religion of the Chālukya princes of Gujarāt and Mārwār, and of the kings of the Coromandel Coast. Many of its adherents held office as prime ministers in the Courts of Western, Central, and Southern India, and to this time are due the splendid series of Jain temples, such as those on Mount Abu and Girnār. On the Muhammadan conquest many of the stately Jain shrines were demolished, and their carved pillars utilized in building great mosques, such as that near the Kutb Minār of Delhi, at Ajmer and Ahmadābād.

Causes of the survival of Jainism.

Jainism is the only one of the early monastic orders which has survived to the present day in India. It escaped the disasters which overcame Buddhism, partly because its severance from Brāhmanism was never so complete; partly because it never adopted an active missionary policy, but preferred to practise its peculiar rites in a quiet, unobtrusive fashion. But the main reason is that, unlike Buddhism, it admitted to its Sangha, or Convocation, not only monks and nuns, but lay-brothers and lay-sisters. These lay brethren secured a well-established rank side by side with the monastic members, and thus among the Jains there was none of the rivalry between monk and layman which deprived Buddhism, in the later stage, of the support of the congregation at large.

Jain literature.

It is only in recent years that the vast and intricate literature of Jainism has been partially explored, and there is still much to be done in the way of translation and investigation before the history of the order can be written. This ignorance of the real nature of its teaching is perhaps one cause of the contempt which the order has excited among some Western scholars. A recent writer[1] denies the right of existence to a faith whose principles are 'to deny God, worship man, and nourish vermin.'

The Jain pantheon.

The Jain pantheon consists of a body of deified saints, Tīrthankara, 'creating a passage through the circuit of life,' or Jina, 'those who have won the victory,' twenty-four of whom are assigned to the three ages, past, present, and future. Of these the chief are the deified founders of the order, Pārsvanātha and Mahāvīra. The ascetic members of the order are known

[1] Hopkins, p. 297.

as Jati, 'the continent,' who hold no property, and never quit their dwellings except to beg for food. They carry a fan of goat's hair with which they remove every living creature from the path on which they tread, or the ground on which they sit. They wear a screen of cloth before their mouths, lest they should unwittingly inhale and destroy animal life. Their bodies and clothes are filthy and covered with vermin. The lay brethren are known as Srāvaka, 'hearers,' a title which has given rise to the name Saraogi, by which they are commonly known in Northern India. The images of the saints, statues of black or white marble, are represented as nude, in contrast to the fully-dressed figures in Buddhist shrines; but they present none of the indecencies which disfigure the modern Hindū temple. Jains choose for their sanctuaries wooded hills surrounded by lovely scenery; and in conformity with the retiring character of their creed, the older and most famous shrines are generally distant from the main centres of civilization. Such are the hill of Pārasnāth in Bengal, Pālitāna in Kāthiāwār, and Mount Abu, 'which rises with its gems of architecture like a jewelled island from the Rājputāna plains.' The piety of modern Jains in these days of toleration has adorned many of the larger mercantile cities with splendid temples, marvels of delicate carving and artistic decoration.

Jainism at the present day.

The numerical strength of the Jains is now 1⅓ millions, and it shows a tendency to decrease; but this is perhaps more nominal than real, as there seems to be a growing disposition among them to describe themselves as Hindus. The line, in fact, which divides them from Hindus is narrow. They employ Brāhmans in their domestic rites; venerate the cow; often worship in Hindu temples; follow the Hindu law of inheritance, with the reservation that heirship is not dependent on the performance of funeral rites; are more than Hindu in the strictness of their caste exclusiveness; permit *connubium* with Hindus; visit Hindu places of pilgrimage. Their main difference from Hindus consists in their 'heretical' views regarding the sanctity of the Vedas, their omission of Hindu funeral rites, and their regard for special sacred places and for rites peculiar to the order. But there are Hindu sects which differ as widely from orthodox tenets without being excluded from Hinduism.

Sects and distribution of Jains.

The chief seats of Jain influence are the cities and trading marts of Western India, and the order is largely recruited from the merchants of Gujarāt and Mārwār, and cultivators in the Carnatic District of Belgaum. 'Their sudden disappearance

from the population in the direction of Sind is somewhat remarkable, and so is the fact that there are no Jains among the indigenous inhabitants of Bengal, which includes Bihār, where the religion had its origin, and Orissa, where the caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri bear witness to its popularity in the early centuries of our era.' The faith in Northern India commends itself to the mercantile classes, because trade is the only vocation in which the rule against taking animal life can be fully observed. Even the soil cannot be ploughed without the risk of killing a worm. In Western India three sects are recognized at the present day—the Digambaras, who worship naked idols, and revere their Gurus, or spiritual teachers; the Svetāmbaras, who dress their idols in robes, and adorn them in various ways; the Dhondiyas, who worship their Gurus, wear white apparel, and a strip of white cloth over their lips. These last never worship idols. The Digambaras assert that their women do not attain salvation, a view which the Svetāmbaras reject. The lay members of the order are united by a close tie of mutual support, and their charity is boundless.

Brāhmanism modified into Hinduism.

These movements in opposition to Brāhmanism, combined with the extension of Aryan supremacy, which involved the absorption of increasing masses of the aboriginal races, led to a modification of the primitive belief. The result of this was the Hinduism of the present day, which with more or less variance of practice is now the creed of the vast majority of the people, and, like Christianity in mediaeval Europe, maintains a certain general conformity by the use of one sacred language, the veneration paid to holy places, and the predominance of a priesthood. It has hitherto been usual to date this movement within Brāhmanism as late as the eleventh century of our era; but it has recently been shown that the Purānic literature goes back to the sixth or eighth century. Thus the reform of Brāhmanism went on side by side with the growth of Buddhism and Jainism, and the three movements are but differing phases in the evolution of modern Hinduism. The means by which this evolution was accomplished were in the case of Brāhmanism twofold: first, the creation of a national ideal of worship; secondly, the combination of non-Aryan forms of belief with the older creed. The first movement finds its record in the epics, with some information to be gathered from the law literature, and a few sidelights from the inscriptions. The second is to be traced in the body of sacred writings known as the Purānas.

The epics.

During the Epic period, which may be roughly defined as

lasting from about 500 to 50 B.C., or practically contemporaneous with the spread of Buddhism in its original form, two collections of popular legends were combined into the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana. The first and more important of these poems was composed probably in the fifth century B.C., and reached its final stage, after a series of redactions in the interest of one sect or the other, as a didactic compendium before the beginning of our era. The original Rāmāyana may have been completed at a time when, according to Professor Macdonell, 'the epic kernel of the Mahābhārata had not yet assumed definite shape,' that is, before 500 B.C., while recent additions date from the second century B.C. or later.

The Mahābhārata.

The Mahābhārata brings together the western body of legends, that centring round the Brāhman Holy Land in the Upper Ganges valley, and deals mainly with the Kaurava-Pāndava war, in which some authorities see a tradition of the contest between two successive bodies of Aryan invaders. The transition from the earlier Brāhmanism is indicated in various ways throughout the epic. We find excessive stress laid on Yoga, or asceticism, which, with the use of Mantras, or formulae, replaces sacrifice as a means of coercing the gods. Caste distinctions are now found clearly established. The old Vedic deities have fallen from their high estate, and are now included among the Lokapālas, or 'world-guardians.' Those that still retain some measure of dignity have lost their connexion with Nature, and have become anthropomorphous. New gods, like Kubera, god of riches, Dharma Vaivasvata, who took his title from an old name of Yama, and Kāma, god of love, who in name is as old as the Atharvan, but was perhaps developed under the influence of Greek female slaves, take the place of the older gods, and with priests and the Pitri, or sainted dead, form the pantheon. The reverence paid to mountains, rivers, and holy trees reflects the older Nature-worship, reinforced by beliefs adopted from the aboriginal tribes. Hanumān, the monkey god, who appears in both epics, has been supposed to be a guardian of the village and its crops; more probably he is a loan from the local theriolatry. The reverence paid to the serpent, which, except as the dragon Ahi, does not occur in the Veda, is here associated with the Nāgās, a semi-divine snake race. The people of the same name seem to have ruled many parts of Northern India in the prehistoric period.

The Rāmāyana.

The second epic, the Rāmāyana, is less interesting from the religious point of view than the Mahābhārata. It does the

same service to the eastern body of legends, those of Kosala and Magadha, as the earlier epic did for the western folk-lore. Here the veneration paid to saintly ascetics is farther intensified. It is generally supposed to mark the extension of Brāhmanism into Southern India, but is more probably an amplification of a Vedic Nature-myth.

The religious influence of the epics.

The effect of these epics was to form a gallery of heroic personages drawn from local tradition, who have been revered by Hindus of succeeding times. Thus, in lieu of vague abstractions and the shadowy Vedic gods, now in a state of decadence, the Mahābhārata provides a series of heroic men and women—the knightly Pāndavas and their common spouse, Draupadī, as in the Rāmāyana Rāma and Sītā have formed models of the life of holiness to later generations. To this day the latter epic, transmuted into the old Eastern Hindī of Northern India by the genius of Tulsi Dās (died 1624 A. D.), is the Vaishnava Bible, and episodes from it form the subject of the most popular village drama.

Sivaism and Vaishnavism.

It is much more difficult to trace the stages of the evolution which led to the sectarian worship of Siva and Vishnu.

Vishnu in the Rig-veda plays only a subordinate part. Though included in the solar cultus, he is less frequently invoked than his brother gods, Sūrya and Pūshan. In the Grihya Sūtràs he is adored in connexion with Vāk, or the Logos; Manu names him only once. In the Mahābhārata Vishnu and Ṣiva are separate gods, but each in turn is identified with the All-God, and consequently each represents the other.

Siva, again, is the natural descendant of the Vedic Rudra combined with Pūshan; the name Siva, 'the auspicious one,' was apparently assigned to him through a feeling of euphemism, to veil the more ruthless side of his personality. The Greek Megasthenes (306–298 B. C.) identifies him with Dionysos, and speaks of him as a god worshipped in the mountains. About the end of the first century of our era, as recorded in the Periplus, the cult of his consort, Durgā, had reached and given a name to Cape Comorin. The records of the Buddhist pilgrims show that he was worshipped in Northern India five centuries later. In his earliest form, then, the Aryan origin of Siva is undoubted, and this is recognized by the Brāhmans of to-day, who specially worship him. But this does not imply that in his later forms non-Aryan elements may not have been added to his cultus. By some this non-Aryan side of his worship has been connected with the Deccan; by others with the

lower slopes of the Himālayas. Dr. Muir comes to the conclusion that, while there are not sufficient grounds for regarding the non-Aryan tribes of Southern India as specially devoted to his worship, his cultus may have owed its coarser elements to the Dravidian stock common to the whole Peninsula.

The elevation of Brahmā, the third member of the triad, to the position of chief of the gods is characteristic of the Epic period; but even here, to quote Dr. Hopkins[1], 'his character is that of a shadowy, fatherly, beneficent adviser to the gods, his children; all his activity is due to Vishnu. Brahmā is in his place merely because to the preceding age he was the highest god; for the epic regards Creator, Prajāpati, Brahmā as synonymous.' But he is already in process of subordination to the sectarian gods. This process has continued until, in modern times, the leader of the triad has become a *roi fainéant*, and only four shrines, those of Pushkar in Rājputāna, Khed Brahma in the State of Idar, Dudahi in Bundelkhand, and Kodakkal in Malabar, are known to be specially devoted to his worship. The view of modern Hinduism is that his functions are interchangeable with those of Vishnu and Siva, either of whom may be worshipped as his representative.

Vishnu and Siva compared.

To the Hindu of to-day Vishnu and Siva form the two poles of his religion. Siva, to use the words of Sir A. Lyall[2], 'represents the earliest and universal impression of Nature upon man—the impression of endless and pitiless change. He is the destroyer and rebuilder of various forms of life; he has charge of the whole circle of animated creation, the incessant round of birth and death in which all Nature eternally revolves. His attributes are indicated by symbols emblematic of death and man's desire.' These symbols represent the male and female creative energy, an idea perhaps borrowed from the non-Aryan races, and appearing already well established in the Mahābhārata. Less human and more mystical than Vishnu, anthropomorphic image-worship has little place in his cultus. Manifold are the forms in which he manifests himself. He is the typical Yogi, or self-mortifier, the philosopher and sage, the wild and jovial mountaineer, surrounded by a train of dancing revellers. How much of this is the result of syncretism it is difficult to say; but his worship was obviously well adapted to attract two very different classes of votaries—the Brāhman philosopher, who sees in him the All-God, from whom the universe is evolved; and the villager,

[1] p. 404. [2] ii. 306.

who associates him with the mysteries of reproduction. Hence, as Visvesvara, Lord of the Universe,' his plain, uncarved *lingam* is the chief object of worship at Benares, the head-quarters of Brāhman orthodoxy, and few of the smallest villages lack a modest shrine erected in his honour. Possibly in the latter case the preference for his worship is due to its cheapness. He needs none of the gorgeous ceremonial which is provided for Vishnu. A few flowers, an oblation of water, are all that his worshipper needs to dedicate.

The extension of Sivaism.

The extension of Sivaism was the work of two great missionary preachers. The first was Kumārila Bhatta, a Brāhman of Bihār, who is said to have instigated the persecution of Buddhists and Jains in Southern India. He taught the latter Mīmānsa philosophy, and his mantle fell on his more famous disciple, Sankarāchārya, who in the eighth century moulded the tenets of the Mīmānṣa into its final form. The result of his teaching was the foundation of the Smārta sect of Brāhmans, while among the lower classes he popularized the worship of Siva. To him is attributed the foundation of monasteries from Sringeri in Mysore to Badrīnāth in Kumaun, which last is still served by Nambūri Brāhman priests from Malabar. Much of his life was spent in wandering along the hill country from Kashmīr to Nepāl, where he reorganized the temple services in the interest of his sect. His missionary work largely contributed to the downfall of Buddhism in Northern India, and the Saivas have deified him as an incarnation of Siva himself.

The Saiva sects.

The Saivas represent the conservative force in the history of Hinduism. It was from their struggles with Buddhism in the centre and south of the Peninsula that the order of the Sannyāsī ascetics, who took their title from one of the stages (*āsrama*) in the life of a Brāhman, arose. In the same way, the contest between the Sannyāsīs and the innovating Bhagats of Northern India gave rise to the Jogi order. Saivism has blossomed out into sects with less luxuriance than Vaishnavism. Some of those which have been formed exhibit asceticism in its highest and most repulsive form. Such, for instance, are the loathsome Aghoris, eaters of filth and of corpses; the Urdhvabāhus, who extend the arms over the head till the muscles wither from non-use; the Ākāsamukhins, who keep the neck bent back looking up to the sky; the Kapālikas, who use a human skull for a drinking-cup.

The Smārtas.

Two of the Saiva sects, the Smārtas and the Lingāyats, deserve special mention. The Smārtas, 'those who follow tradition (*smriti*),' are Brāhmans of the South Deccan and

Madras. Though they refer their origin to the teaching of the Saiva missionary, Sankarāchārya, they are not exclusively Saivite in their beliefs. They teach the identity of man's spirit with the One Spirit (Ātman, Brahma), which is cognizable only through meditation. They recognize the orthodox triad—Brahmā, Vishnu, Siva—as coequal manifestations of the one Eternal Spirit, and destined ultimately to be reabsorbed into this Spirit. They thus represent the highest form of Brāhmanic pantheism. Brāhmanism in Southern India has always claimed to preserve a higher standard of orthodoxy than that which prevails in other parts of the country. Its activity is shown by the fact that the reforming mission of Sankarāchārya had its origin there, and at the present day the Brāhman of Madras exercises an influence much greater than that of his brethren in the North. The explanation of this is that the South was not involved in the struggle with the Kshattriyas and Buddhism, and was beyond the reach of the persecution which accompanied the early Muslim invasions.

The Lingāyats.

On a much lower level are the Lingāyats, 'wearers of the *lingam* or phallus.' The founder of the sect was Basava, the southern form of the Sanskrit Vrishabha, a title of Nandi, the bull on which Siva rides. He was a Brāhman of Bijāpur, and prime minister of Bijjala, one of the Kalachurya kings of Kalyāni (*circa* 1145–67 A.D.). The story of his career is overlaid with a mass of legend, the Lingāyat account being embodied in the Basava Purāna, while the Jain narrative contained in the Bijjalarāya Charita is very different. From the Lingāyat account it would seem that Basava and his nephew took advantage of their official position to persecute the Jains and other enemies of the new faith. But Bijjala himself was a Jain, and a reaction occurred, which culminated in the death or abdication of the king and the murder of Basava.

The sect is chiefly found in the Southern Deccan, where they call themselves Vīra-Saivas, 'brave or fierce Saivas,' but are popularly known as Lingāyats or Lingavants. The chief characteristics of the sect in its early days were adoration of the *lingam* and of Nandi, Siva's bull, and disbelief in the transmigration of the soul. They rejected infant marriage, and permitted widows to remarry. Their chief seat is in the Kanarese country, and it is mainly due to their influence that this powerful and polished language has been preserved. The main body of the community, who are initiated by what is known as the 'eightfold sacrament' (*ashtavarna*), are known as Panchamsālis, descendants of the original Brāhman converts.

To these has been added a group of later converts. At the outset caste distinctions were abolished, but, as is so often the case with religious movements of this kind, a reaction set in. The original, or high-caste section, introduced a more elaborate form of worship, framed on the Brāhmanic model. The new converts were forced to take a lower place, and only the Jangamas, or priests, being a privileged class, deigned to share their food. This schism, which began at the close of the seventeenth century, has continued, until at the last Census the higher group claimed to be recorded as Vīra-Saiva Brāhmans, and proposed that the others should be placed in three classes according as they sprang from castes ranking as Kshattriyas, Vaisyas, or Sūdras.

Vishnu and Vaishnavism.

According to the view of most foreign students of Hinduism a sharp line is to be drawn between the beliefs of the Saiva and Vaishnava sectarians. But Hinduism is wonderfully eclectic, and the two sects are regarded as complementary, rather than antagonistic. While Siva, the god of destruction and reproduction, is associated with many practices at once grotesque and repellent, the faith of the worshippers of Vishnu is more human, impersonating the 'higher evolution,' the upward tendency of the human spirit. It leads the believer back to the graceful worship of the early gods, while it has included in its pantheon the forms of national heroes, who live among men, and furnish an ideal of manliness, beauty, and the delights of love. In his highest form Vishnu is in a state of repose, not activity, which is the note of Saiva beliefs. He occasionally deigns to revisit the earth in human or animal shape by a succession of Avatāras or incarnations. This theory of successive divine embodiments is one of the most effective doctrines of the later Hinduism. In it the eclecticism and adaptability of the faith are most fully realized. In the animal incarnations we may see either an indication of the absorption of the totemistic or beast gods of the lower races, or, from the esoteric point of view, the pantheistic idea of the divine spirit immanent in all the forms of creation. In the deification of heroes we have a development of one of the main principles of the Hindu renaissance, which first begins to show itself in the Mahābhārata.

The gods of Vaishnavism.

The forms of Vishnu are manifold. In Travancore, where he is the state deity, he is worshipped as Padmanābha, 'he from whose navel springs the lotus.' But, as popular gods, his most important incarnations are Krishna and Rāma.

Krishna.

Both Krishna and Rāma may, in their earliest conception,

be embodiments of local deities of the herd or cornfield, but to the Hindu they are glorified men, who once lived on earth. Krishna, whose name first appears in one of the Upanishads as a scholar, is a prominent personage in the Mahābhārata, but always invested with some degree of mysticism. The head-quarters of his cult are at Muttra, on the upper Jumna, which, as shown by a recent important discovery of inscriptions, was an early seat of Jainism. The suggestion has been made that there was some alliance between the two faiths, and that one cause of the immunity of Jainism from persecution in Western India was the protection it received from the new Vaishnavism. But this is improbable. Krishna, in the early form of his cult, may be regarded as the local god of some Rājput clan settled near the Jumna; and his titles, Govinda and Gopāla, 'the herdsman,' suggest a connexion of his worship with that of a god of flocks and herds. He is also the hero of the Pāndava tribe, who seem to have been new-comers, opponents of the orthodox Brāhmanism of the Holy Land. The mention of polyandry among them in the case of Draupadī has been supposed to connect them with the Himālayas, where this custom still prevails. In the cult of Krishna we have that form of Vaishnavism which, by its luxurious ceremonial and lax standard of morality, shares with Jainism the respect of the moneyed middle class.

Rāma.

In Rāma, the god of the orthodox Brāhman, there is no erotic suggestion. He, like Krishna, seems to have been a local Rājput hero of Kosala, and in his personality are embodied the legends and folk-lore of the east country. Here, in the birthplace of Buddhism, his cult arose, and it is clear that it was largely indebted to the older faith. Or perhaps it might be a more correct statement of the case to say that both alike were dependent upon the earlier Brāhmanic tradition. At any rate Vaishnavism, as it appears in the cult of Rāma, preserves the kindliness and charity of Buddhism, as well as its tenderness for animal life.

The growth of Vaishnavism.

The foundations of the Vaishnava beliefs were laid in the Vishnu Purāna, a work which was formerly supposed to date from the eleventh century, but has now been proved to be some five centuries older. We thus naturally find in it much of the old caste exclusiveness, which the Institutes of Manu, representing probably the conditions of the second century, most fully display. There is in the Purāna one God, but he is the God of the Brāhman, and the writer does not dream of the message of salvation being extended to the lower races.

The popularization of the creed was the work of a line of reformers, of whom the first was Rāmānuja, a South Indian Brāhman, who is said to have lived between 1017 and 1137 A.D. In the case of Vaishnavism, as with Saivism, the inspiration for reform came from the south. Rāmānuja, in opposition to Sankarāchārya, maintained that there was one supreme Spirit; that individual beings are separate spirits, and the universe non-Spirit. Fifth in succession to him was Rāmānand, who lived during the fourteenth century, and was the missionary of popular Vaishnavism in Northern India. He preached the worship of Vishnu under the form of Rāma, either singly, or conjointly with his consort, Sītā. But his chief innovation was the introduction of low-caste disciples into the communion.

The Vaishnava reformers.

One of his twelve disciples was Kabīr (1380–1420 A.D.), who carried on and extended the work of his master. His teaching is specially remarkable inasmuch as in later times it inspired the founders of Sikhism. Its chief note is to link Hinduism with Islām. A weaver by caste, Kabīr taught the spiritual equality of all men. Alī or Rāma, said he, are only different names for the same God. So we are told that on his death both Hindus and Musalmāns claimed his corpse. But when they raised the shroud they found nothing but a heap of flowers. The Hindus took half and cremated them at Benares; the Muslims buried the other half near Gorakhpur. Kabīr, in accepting the equality of all men before the Supreme, added to his doctrine the spiritual application, that difference in caste, rank, or religion, the changes and chances of this mortal life, are but Māya, or Illusion. Emancipation and peace are to be gained by recognizing the Divine Spirit under these manifold illusions. The way to happiness is not by formula or sacrifice, but by fervent faith (*bhakti*) and meditation on the Godhead. A large sect, known to the present day as Kabīrpanthis, follow his teaching. Their special principle is the duty of obeying the Guru, or spiritual guide, though at the same time Kabīr recognized freedom of individual judgement. The use of meat and liquor and the worship of idols were prohibited. But nowadays practice lags behind precept, and many members are said to show a tendency to revert to idolatry. It is perhaps more as a writer than as a religious reformer that Kabīr has left his mark on the beliefs of Northern India. His apophthegms are ever on the lips of the educated man, whether Hindu or Musalmān, and have been largely incorporated into the Granth or Sikh Scripture.

Kabīr and Kabīrpanthis.

Chaitanya.

The preaching of the new creed in the Bengal delta was undertaken by Chaitanya (1485–1527 A.D.), who was, writes Mr. Gait, 'a Baidik Brāhman. He preached mainly in Central Bengal and Orissa, and his doctrine found ready acceptance amongst large numbers of the people, especially amongst those who were still, or had only recently ceased to be, Buddhists. This was mainly due to the fact that he drew his followers from all sources, so much so that even Muhammadans followed him. He preached vehemently against the immolation of animals in sacrifice, and the use of animal food and stimulants, and taught that the true road to salvation lay in Bhakti, or fervent devotion to God. He recommended Rādhā worship, and taught that the love felt by her for Krishna was the highest form of devotion. The acceptable offerings were flowers, money, and the like; but the great form of worship was the Sankirtan, or procession of worshippers playing and singing. A peculiarity of Chaitanya's cult is that the post of spiritual guide, or Gosain, is not confined to Brāhmans, and several of those best-known belong to the Baidya caste.'

Erotic Vaishnavism.

Teaching of this kind, in which special regard is paid to the erotic side of the Krishna cult, inevitably led to abuse. The lowest form of such teaching is found among the Vallabhāchārya sect, which has its chief seats in Western India and at Gokul near Muttra. They have been called the Epicureans of the East, and the Gosain, or leader of the sect, is regarded as a divinity, and his votaries are at his disposal—body, soul, and substance. The licentious practices of this community were exposed in the famous Mahārāja suit at Bombay in 1862.

Sikhism.

Sikhism is one of those movements which started as a religious reform and ended in becoming a political organization. Founded in the Punjab by the Guru Nānak (1469–1538 A.D.), it was farther developed by succeeding Gurus, notably by Guru Govind Singh (1675–1708 A.D.). 'The Sikh creed,' writes Mr. Rose, 'involves belief in one God, condemning the worship of other deities; it prohibits idolatry, pilgrimage to the great shrines of Hinduism, faith in omens, charms, or witchcraft; and does not recognize ceremonial impurity at birth and death. As a social system it abolishes caste distinctions, and, as a necessary consequence, the Brāhmanical supremacy and usages in all ceremonies, at birth, marriage, death, and so on. But this creed is probably accepted and acted upon by a very small number even of those who call themselves true Sikhs.' The main object of the early Gurus was to distinguish their

disciples from the Hindus among whom they lived. Hence Guru Govind prescribed that every Sikh should bear the five marks, known as the five *ka*—the hair uncut (*kes*), the short drawers (*kachh*), the *kara*, or iron bangle, the *khanda*, or steel knife, the *kangha*, or comb; that he should abstain from tobacco, and eat no meat save that of animals decapitated by a single blow at the back of the neck. In later times a tendency to assimilate themselves more and more to Hindus began to prevail, and many Sikhs accepted the ministrations of Brāhmans, and made pilgrimages, especially to Hardwār, where the Ganges leaves the lower hills. This tendency is now being opposed by the orthodox teachers, who have their head-quarters at Amritsar, and the principles of the Granth, or Sikh Bible, are more stringently enforced. The teaching of the Gurus in matters of faith was little more than an exposition of the principles of Kabīr. The formula of Nānak was the Unity of God and the Brotherhood of Man. The strength of Sikhism lay not in the novelty of its message, but in the social observances, which were designed to stimulate the local patriotism of its members and to make the followers of the Guru a peculiar people.

The Sāktas.

The third great sect which shares with Saivas and Vaishnavas the allegiance of Hindus is that of the Sāktas. It is based on the worship of the active female principle (*prākriti*), as manifested in one or other of the forms of the consort of Siva—Durgā, Kālī, or Pārvatī. The forces of Nature are here deified under separate personalities, known as Divine Mothers, an old idea, now revived with fresh and more impure associations. The ritual of the sect, which prescribes blood-offerings and other abominable libidinous rites, is found in the Tantras, embodying cruder forms of belief, which are as old as the Atharva-veda, but have been farther developed subsequently. The cultus seems to have arisen in Eastern Bengal or Assam about the fifth century A.D., and was opposed by the Vaishnava reformers. It has left its mark in the later Buddhism, and unhappily seems to be spreading in Upper India under the encouragement of Bengali clerks.

Modern Vaishnava sects: the Rādhāswāmīs.

The most interesting phase of the reformed Vaishnava movement appears in the modern sects, which owe their inspiration to Kabīr. Thus, in the United Provinces the Rādhāswāmīs, founded by Shiu Dayāl Singh, a Khattrī of Agra (1818–78 A.D.), recognize the separate existence of God, the soul, and matter. According to them the universe is divided into three spheres—the first, the abode of the

Supreme Being, about whom nothing can be predicated; the second, presided over by a Spirit, who is curiously described as 'the Lord God of the Bible, the Sat of the Vedantists, and the Lahaul of the Muhammadan Saints.' The ruler of the third sphere, in which matter predominates over Spirit, is compared to the 'Brahm, or Paramātma, or God of most religions in the world.' By resignation to the will of the Supreme transmigration is avoided, and the end of the series of re-births comes when the purified souls, after passing from plants through the lower created forms to man, reach the presence of the Supreme Being, and remain there, but without losing individuality. The sect has no temples and no priests, but the spiritual head of the community is highly revered. Contemplation of his image is held to be the contemplation of the Supreme Being, and is one of the chief ordinances of the faith.

Sects founded on social revolt.

In many cases these dissenting sects have taken the form of social rather than religious revolts. They were efforts on the part of the lower castes to free themselves from the tyranny of the caste system and the Brāhmans who stood at its head. It is significant that many of the reformers sprang from the lower ranks. Rāmānand, himself a Brāhman, had among his disciples who founded separate schools Nāmdeo the cotton-printer, Sena the barber, Kabīr the weaver, Nābhaji the Dom.

The Satnāmis.

One of the most important of these movements was that of the Satnāmis, founded in the beginning of the seventeenth century by an Oudh Rājput, Jagjīvandās, and extended among his own caste by the Chamār Ghāsidās, between 1820 and 1830 A.D. The seven principles prescribed by Ghāsidās included abstinence from spirituous liquor and certain vegetables, like lentils and tomatoes, whose juice resembles blood; the abolition of idol worship; the prohibition of the use of cows for ploughing (an old Gond custom, now tabooed as a sop to the Brāhmans), or of working oxen after midday, a rule designed for the prevention of cruelty to animals. 'This creed,' writes Mr. Russell, 'was marked by a creditable simplicity and purity of too elevated a nature for the Gonds of Chhattīsgarh. The crude myths which are now associated with the story of Ghāsidās, and the obscenity which distinguishes the ritual of the sect, furnish a good instance of the way in which a religion, originally of a high order of morality, will be rapidly debased to their own level when adopted by people who are incapable of living up to it.'

Modern Theistic sects: the Brahmo Samāj.

The latest stage of these efforts to reform Hinduism is found in the modern Theistic sects, which had their origin in Bengal. 'Brahmoism,' writes Sir A. Lyall[1], 'as propagated by its latest expounders, seems to be Unitarianism of a European type, and as far as one can understand its argument, appears to have no logical stability or *locus standi* between revelation and pure rationalism; it propounds either too much or too little to its hearers.' Its founder was the celebrated Rām Mohan Roy (1774–1833), and his successors, Debendranāth Tagore, Keshub Chunder Sen, and Pratāp Chunder Mozūmdār. As at present constituted, the Brahmo Church is divided into three sections, all alike believing in the unity of the Godhead, the brotherhood of man, and direct communion with God in spirit, without the intervention of any mediator. The differences which exist are ritualistic and social, rather than religious. The Adi Samāj, or oldest section, is also the most conservative. While discarding all idolatrous forms, it follows as closely as possible the rites of Hinduism, and draws its inspiration solely from the religious books of the Hindus, especially the Upanishads, and not from the Bible or Korān. It has only once allowed a non-Brāhman to officiate as its minister. Inter-caste marriages are not allowed, and a considerable agitation was raised when one of its Brāhman members recently married the daughter of the Mahārāja of Cooch Behār. The Nabibidhan Samāj, or Church of the New Dispensation, was founded by Keshub Chunder Sen. It is more eclectic, and has assimilated what it considers true, not only from the holy books of Hinduism, but also from the teaching of Christianity, Buddhism, and Islām. The Sadhāran Brahmo Samāj is the most advanced of these Churches. It rejects caste and seclusion of women, freely permits inter-caste marriage, and is uncompromising in its rejection of what is commonly called Hinduism. Though as yet a small body, it attracts Hindus who have received their education in England, as they are thus absolved from the trammels of caste, and spared the necessity of undergoing any rite of purification on their return to India.

The Arya Samāj.

Another of these societies, the Arya Samāj, has gained considerable influence in North-western India. Founded by Dayānand Saraswatī (1827–53), it regards the Vedas as the only Scripture, professes a pure monotheism, repudiates idol worship, and largely devotes itself to the social amelioration of the race. One of the publications of the founder had some

[1] i. 153.

effect in promoting the agitation against cattle-slaughter, which led in recent years to serious popular disturbances. The Samāj has suffered from internal dissensions, and is at present divided on the question of the lawfulness of animal food.

Sectarianism in modetn Hinduism.

In considering the practical effect of sectarianism on modern Hinduism, it may be said that, while the lines of cleavage between the manifold sects are clearly marked, it would be an error to suppose that Hinduism is divided into so many water-tight compartments, between which no communion is possible. Such a result would be quite alien to the eclectic spirit of the system. There may be a certain amount of hostility felt by the leaders and inner circle of believers against the adherents of a rival sect; but beyond these lies the great mass of the people, who are, as a rule, ignorant to which sect they belong. The majority of high-caste Hindus in North India worship all the gods of the Hindu pantheon, each man, according to his fancy, paying special respect to Siva, or to one of his consorts, or to Vishnu in one or other of his many incarnations. The Brāhman will keep in his private chapel the Sālagrāma, or ammonite representing Vishnu, as well as the phallic emblem of Siva. At the great places of pilgrimage he will worship the sectarian gods as he meets their images in his tour round the holy site; he will attend the popular celebrations in honour of either god, such as the Durgā-pūjā or the miracle play of Rāma. The continuity of religious life is seen in its sacred places. Their sanctity has come down from a time probably antecedent to the rise of the historical religions, and each creed in succession has consecrated some holy site to the needs of its culture. Thus, Benares and Muttra were centres respectively of Buddhism and Jainism. The cult of Siva has accepted the one and that of Krishna the other, the new faith often erecting its temple on the very spot consecrated to that which preceded it. Even the more modern religions have adopted the old sacred places. For example, at Sakhi Sarwar, at the foot of the Sulaimān range, Hindus perform their rites of prayer and ablution, Sikhs venerate a shrine of Nānak, and Musalmāns the tomb of a Muhammadan saint.

Animism.

Up to this point we have dealt with the historical, literary, and what may be termed the official, development of Hinduism. But below the upper crust of observances which Brāhmanism and Buddhism enforce, there is a mass of more primitive beliefs, which form the real faith of the majority of the people. This jungle of diverse beliefs and cults has been classed under the unsatisfactory title of Animism, by which is meant the

belief which explains to primitive man the constant movements and changes in the world of things by the theory that every object which has activity enough to affect him in any way is animated by a life and will like his own. The leading features of Animism, as summarized by Mr. Risley, are: 'It conceives of man as passing through life surrounded by a ghostly company of powers, elements, tendencies, mostly impersonal in their character, shapeless phantasms of which no image can be made and no definite idea can be formed. Some of these have departments or spheres of influence of their own: one presides over cholera, another over small-pox, another over cattle disease; some dwell in rocks, others haunt trees, others, again, are associated with rivers, whirlpools, waterfalls, or strange pools hidden in the depths of the hills. All of them require to be diligently propitiated by reason of the ills which proceed from them, and usually the land of the village provides the means for their propitiation.' Some rude stones piled under a sacred tree, a mud platform where a tiger has killed a man, a curiously shaped rock which is supposed to have assumed its present shape from some supernatural agency, are the shrines of the Animist. His priest is not drawn from the Brāhman order, and the office is often not hereditary.

Animism in its purest form.

Animism in its purest form shows itself among the forest races in the centre and south of the Peninsula, and on the lower slopes of the Himālayas. Some of these founded kingdoms of their own, like the Gond princes of Garhā Mandlā, Deogarh, and Chānda in the Central Provinces, the Koch of North-east Bengal and Assam, the main line of whose dynasty is now represented by the Mahārāja of Cooch Behār. The tribes whose beliefs are Animism of this kind are in many cases falling rapidly under Hindu influence. Such is the case with the Santāls, Gonds, and Bhīls, who occupy the hills south of the Gangetic valley. Over such people the yoke of the Brāhman missionary is easy. He enforces no hard moral code; he asks but that the convert should employ a faithful priest, and conform to the ordinances of a more respectable religion than that which he believes in common with the semi-savages around him. The tribes occupying the southern hill country, like the Badagas, Irulas, and Kurumbas, and the fierce races, like the Nāgās, who inhabit the lower ranges on the Assam frontier, have remained comparatively free from Brāhman influence. The missionary influence likely to affect the races of the Madras hill country will probably be Christian rather than Hindu.

The enumeration of Animists.

The Census returns of 1901 reckon the number of Animists at about 8½ millions. The method employed was to class as Hindus or Muhammadans persons who named these as their religions; the remainder, or those who classed their religion as tribal, say that of Gonds or Bhīls, were recorded as Animists. Such a classification is of no practical value, simply because it ignores the fact that the fundamental religion of the majority of the people—Hindu, Buddhist, or even Musalmān—is mainly animistic. The peasant may nominally worship the greater gods; but when trouble comes in the shape of disease, drought, or famine, it is from the older gods that he seeks relief. The greater gods are in his mind busied about the more important affairs of the universe, and have no time to listen to him when his ox is stolen, or when he desires a son to succeed him.

Origin of Indian Animism.

Animism of the kind we now see in India is no doubt largely derived from the non-Aryan races, among whom it flourishes with the greatest vigour. But, in the absence of literary evidence, we may suspect that the animistic current runs through the whole course of Indian religious history, that the Vedas may have been confined to the priestly class, and that from the beginning of things the common folk may have adored the monkey and snake, or the stone which they supposed to embody their gods. Indeed the Vedic religion was Animism of the higher kind, as is shown by the worship of the heavenly bodies and the powers of Nature, each of which was believed to be controlled by some indwelling spirit.

The religion of the peasant.

Such being the basis of the religion of the peasant, it may be added that there is at the present day a tendency to believe in one supreme God, whose relations with the other objects of popular belief are not clearly defined. The rustic hopes to be carried after death to meet his fathers, who have gone before, in a heaven where he will enjoy a similar but a higher life than that of earth. Hell awaits the man who neglects the ordinances of his creed rather than the evil-doer. His religious duties are performed not so much with a view to improve his prospects of the life to come, as to avert the malignity of the evil influences by which he believes himself to be surrounded, or to gain some temporal blessing. With this object he visits holy places, and in particular bathes in holy rivers, that he may absorb some of the benign influence of the spirits which reside there. With morality his religion is little concerned, except so far as he may follow the precepts of some Guru, or religious teacher, whose position is quite distinct from that of the Purohita, or family priest. The latter, in an ortho-

dox Hindu family, is always a Brāhman, and to him is entrusted the performance of the domestic rites at birth, marriage, and death. The Guru is usually a member of one of the ascetic orders. He whispers into the ear of the initiate a Mantra or formula, which is to guide him to holiness, and at his periodical visits he instructs and admonishes his disciples. But, for the ordinary rustic, it is caste and the Panchāyat or caste-council that enforce the only moral code which he understands. He is charitable, but is seldom influenced by altruistic motives, his sympathies hardly extending beyond the members of his own family, clan, or village. In his general beliefs he is eclectic. He will worship any new gods whom he deems powerful for good or evil; hence he shows little intolerance of other forms of belief, except when the fundamental principles of his own faith are endangered. If he be a Musalmān, he knows little beyond the formal usages of his creed, and though he addresses Allah in the mosque, it is to the old village gods that he resorts when trouble befalls him.

Islām.

Passing on to the other religions, we need not attempt to trace their progress except so far as it was influenced by their Indian environment. If we dismiss the early trading settlements on the west coast and military operations in Sind, the first real contact of Islām with Hinduism occurred just at the close of the tenth century of our era. The invasions of Mahmūd of Ghazni, though they resulted in the occupation of the Punjab, were raids with the demolition of an idol or the plunder of a temple city as their object, rather than serious attempts at conquest. It was not till the end of the twelfth century that Muhammad Ghori overthrew the Hindu dynasties of Delhi and Kanauj, and opened the way to Muslim domination. To the historian of religion the most important result of this conquest was that the temporary overthrow of the Rājput powers resulted in the dispersion of the clans, some of whom emigrated to Rājputāna, which became the stronghold of Hinduism in North India, as Travancore is in the south. Others were driven down the Ganges valley, and became the headmen of villages occupied to this day by their descendants in Oudh, Bihār, and along the lower reaches of the river. It was not till early in the sixteenth century that the Mughal power was established under Bābar and his successors. During the five centuries which intervened between the raids of Mahmūd and the final establishment of Muslim power in India, Buddhism and Brāhmanism suffered the grievous stress of war and rapine at the hands of rude troopers from Central

Asia, who believed that they earned the favour of God by slaying the priests and demolishing the temples of the infidel. But forcible proselytism was probably uncommon, except at the hands of some soldier bigot like Sikandar Lodī. The position of the early Muhammadan dynasties was too precarious to admit of any general propaganda. Even in the time of the early Mughals, the emperors were too indifferent towards spiritual affairs, too much engrossed in schemes of conquest and administration, to undertake the task of conversion in earnest. Their power was in a large measure dependent on alliances with the Rājput princes; the native princesses whom they married brought a strain of Hindu blood into the royal line, and promoted tolerance of Hinduism. It was only in the later years of the Empire, when it fell into the hands of the fanatical Aurangzeb, that we hear much of persecution and forcible conversion. In Southern India the Muhammadan rulers seem generally to have been tolerant, with the signal exception of Tipū Sultān, but his policy had little effect on the religion of his kingdom, where at present only about five per cent. are Muhammadans. The Marāthās seem to have followed the tradition of the Muslim dynasty of Bijāpur, and in their turn to have treated the rival faith with tolerance.

The progress of Islām.

Islām is most powerful in those parts of the country where the invaders settled down, not only as conquering rulers, but as proprietors of the conquered soil. Its numbers are not so large in the neighbourhood of the capital cities of Agra and Delhi, because it was here met by well-organized Hindu tribes. Thus, in the Punjab, setting aside the special ethnical conditions of the north-western frontier, Muhammadans are in excess, not in the eastern districts dominated by Delhi, but in the region of the west and south, drained by the Indus and its tributaries In Kashmīr a large body of the people embraced the faith, probably because from the time of its introduction in the fourteenth century until the end of the sixteenth the country was ruled by its own Musalmān princes, and after the Mughal conquest by Akbar it became the favourite summer residence of the Court. After the downfall of the Empire it fell under the control of the Afghāns, bigoted adherents of the faith, until the establishment of a Hindu dynasty in 1819. Going farther east, the Mughal armies never occupied the slopes of the Himālayas, and here Hinduism remained undisturbed, as was the case in the country south of the Jumna ruled by the intractable Bundelās,

and along the Rājputāna frontier where it was confronted by the most powerful and united Rājput clans. It was in Oudh and the eastern districts of the United Provinces that Islām made more rapid progress, because it here met a newly established population, which was readily influenced by the powerful Musalmān colonies founded in its midst. But, in the main, Islām has progressed not so much by direct conversion as by its own vitality. In Eastern Bengal, where its numbers have increased during the last twenty years from eight to eleven and a quarter millions, the Muhammadan has gained ground because he is better able to contend with the unhealthiness of the climate. He eats meat and other more nourishing food than his Hindu neighbours; he encourages the remarriage of widows; he sets his face against the marriage of infants. The result is that his family is larger and longer-lived. Again, generally throughout the country the Musalmān is a dweller in cities. He is on the whole better fed and less exposed to famine and disease than the Hindu, who is often a landless field labourer, the hardest and worst-paid occupation in India.

Animism: its effect on Islām.

In the rural districts Islām has been largely affected by its Hindu environment. If it has gained some converts from Hinduism, it has borrowed from it many of those practices which distinguish it from the original faith of Arabia. By degrees the fervid enthusiasm of the early raiders was softened down; the two religions learned to live side by side; and if the Muhammadan of the later days could never conceal his contempt for the faith of his 'pagan' neighbours, he came to understand that it could not be destroyed by persecution. From the Hindus Islām derived much of its demonology, the belief in witchcraft, and the veneration of departed Pīrs, or saints. The village Musalmān of the present day employs the Hindu astrologer to fix a lucky day for a marriage, or will pray to the village god to grant a son to his wife. This is the more natural because conversion to Islām, whenever it does occur, is largely from the lower castes. It is one of the most democratic religions in the world, and welcomes to full franchise the low-caste man groaning under the contempt which meets him at the hands of his haughtier neighbours.

The Pachpiriyas.

The most remarkable instance of the fusion of Islām and Animism is found among the Pachpiriyas of Bengal and the United Provinces. They take their name from the worship of the Pānch Pīr, or Five Saints. Some have traced the cult to the five Pāndava heroes of the Mahābhārata; but the five

deities usually worshipped reckon as their leader Ghāzī Miyān, who is said to have been a nephew of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazni, and to have fallen as a martyr to the faith at Bahraich in Oudh in 1034 A.D. With him are sometimes joined four of his fellow martyrs. But the list changes almost from District to District, and displays a remarkable compound of Muslim hagiology grafted on Animism. Thus, one of the five saints is Aminā Satī, the ghost of some faithful widow who died on her husband's pyre; or Bhairon, who in name at least represents Siva in one of his terrible forms, Bhairava, 'the ruthless,' but is probably a village god imported into Brāhmanism. Five small clay mounds in a corner of the house, or under the holy village tree, form the shrine of this quintette of divinities, and the officiant is always a member of one of the lowest castes.

Sects of Islām: Sunnis and Shiahs.

The main sects of Islām are the Sunnis and the Shiahs. The schism arose within the first century after the death of the Prophet, the Sunnis, or Traditionalists, accepting the Sunnat, or collected body of usage, as possessing authority concurrent with or supplementary to the Korān, a view which the Shiahs reject. Shiahs maintain that the Imāmate, or temporal and spiritual headship of the faithful, was by divine right vested in Alī and his descendants through Hasan and Husain, the ill-fated grandsons of the Prophet. They necessarily reject as usurpers the first three Imāms—Abu Bakr, Umar, and Usmān—whom the Sunnis respect. The former observe the annual feast of the Muharram in memory of the martyrdom of Alī and his two sons, while the Sunnis celebrate only the tenth day of Muharram, and abhor the *tasiās*, or representations of the tombs of the martyrs, which the Shiahs parade in procession. Sunnis are largely in excess in Turkey and India; Shiahs in Persia and Afghānistān, their chief seats in India being Lucknow and Hyderābād. The Shiah movement, in fact, is strongest where there is least Arab intermixture in the population. Hence some have defined it as an Aryan protest against Semite domination.

Minor sects of Islām.

The well-defined, clear-cut monotheism of Islām is much less favourable to the growth of sects than is polytheistic, eclectic Hinduism. In Islām the sectarian movement usually follows one of two lines: it is either puritanical or pietistic.

The Wahābis.

A type of the first class of sect is that of the Wahābis, founded by Ibn Abdul Wahāb, at Nejd in Arabia, early in the eighteenth century. It was an attempt to restore the primitive practices of Islām, which, in the view of the founder,

had become corrupted during its world-wide career of conquest. The new doctrine was introduced into India by Sayid Ahmad Shāh, who proclaimed a Jihād, or holy war, against the Sikhs in 1826, and founded the colony of fanatics on our north-western frontier, which has been a constant source of trouble to the Indian Government. Wahābis accept the six books of traditions as collected by the Sunnis, but reject the glosses of the Church theologians, and claim liberty of conscience and the right of private interpretation. They insist strongly on the Unity of God, which, they say, has been endangered by the reverence paid to the person of the Prophet, to the Imāms, and to saints. Hence they condemn pilgrimages to shrines. In their view ordinary Musalmāns are Mushrik, or those who associate others with God. They discountenance the use of rosaries, and regard tobacco as unlawful. From a political point of view the most dangerous doctrine of the sect was to assert that India is *dāru-l-harb*, i. e. 'the land of warfare,' against the rulers of which to wage war is a religious duty. Much controversy has arisen regarding this doctrine. While some members of the sect undoubtedly accept it, it would seem that the fanatical element in the movement has for the present died out in many parts; and in Bengal the efforts of the reformers, who now prefer to call themselves Muhammadi, or Ahl-i-hadīs, 'followers of tradition,' are specially directed to the eradication of superstitious practices not sanctioned by the Korān, and to the inculcation of the true principles of the faith.

Sūfiism.

The second sectarian movement in Islām tends in the direction of Sūfiism. This is, to quote Professor Palmer, 'a strange combination of the pantheism of the Aryan race and of the severe monotheism of their Semitic conquerors, and aims at leading men to the contemplation of spiritual things by appealing to their emotions. The keynote of the system is that the human soul is an emanation from God, and that it is always seeking and yearning to rejoin the source from which it sprung. Ecstasy is the means by which a nearer intercourse is obtained, and absorption in the divinity is the ultimate object to be attained.' These doctrines, with more or less variance of practice, are accepted by the leading Sunni orders, such as the Chistiyas and Kādiriyas. Outside these are the Be-shara, or non-orthodox orders, who, while calling themselves Musalmāns, do not accommodate their lives to the principles of any definite creed. These furnish the most desperate Musalmān fanatics.

The Ahmadiyas.

The wildest development of recent sectarianism in Islām is furnished by the Ahmadiya sect, which has its head quarters in the Punjab. Its leader, Mullā Ghulām Ahmad, in a recent manifesto claims to be the counterpart of the Saviour of Christianity, and to be the Mahdi or Messiah expected by Musalmāns and Christians alike. The Korān is to him the repository of all knowledge. The resurrection is at hand. While discouraging religious war, he is said to preach strongly against Christianity, Hinduism, the Shiah doctrines, and the movement in favour of English education.

Moplahs, Bohras, Khojas.

Three notable phases of Muhammadan religious life are illustrated by the Moplahs, the Bohras, and the Khojas. The Moplahs (Māppilla) are found to the number of nearly a million in Malabar. They are believed to be in a large measure descended from Arab immigrants, who landed on the western coast in the third century after the Hijra. This tribe is remarkable for the savage fanaticism displayed in successive revolts against Hindus. They have several times resisted the bayonets of English troops. The Bohras, or 'traders' of Western India, fall into two groups—the mercantile branch, originally Shiahs of the Ismaīliya sect, and the land-holding section, who are generally Sunnis. Both are mainly converts from Hinduism, disciples of Abdullah, an Arab missionary, who landed in the eleventh century. In the trading branch the Daūdi Bohras are fierce sectarians, strongly opposed to Sunnis and other Musalmāns not belonging to their sect; while the land-holding branch has in recent years been much influenced by Wahābi teaching. The Khojas, or Kwājas, 'honourable converts,' also of the Ismaīliya sect, owe their origin to Hasan Sabāh, an Ismaīliyan teacher of the eleventh century, known to the Crusaders as the Old Man of the Mountain, about whom many strange legends are told. His present representative is the well-known Agha Khān of Bombay. They are active traders on the west coast of the Peninsula and in East Africa.

The Islām revival.

In Northern India Islām displays a genuine deepening of religious life, in the direction of increased religious instruction for the young, and translations of the sacred books into the local dialects, of which cheap copies are widely circulated in the country districts. Combined with this, a desire for education has spread among the higher classes, of which the most noteworthy result has been the foundation of the Anglo-Oriental College at Alīgarh, which represents the progressive party in Islām, opposed to fanaticism, and welcoming the science of the West.

The second of the foreign religions is Mazdaism, the Pārsī faith, which takes its name from Ahura Mazda (Ormuzd), the spirit of good, who, according to the dualistic hypothesis, contends with Angro Mainyūsh (Ahriman), the spirit of evil. It is also known as Zoroastrianism, from Zoroaster, the Greek rendering of the old Iranian Zarathushtra, the modern Persian Zardusht. Mazdaism appears to have its roots in the common faith of the Aryan peoples before their separation into the Iranian and Indo-Aryan branches. But the fission occurred before the religion had been organized, and the elements common to the two are difficult to trace. What is most striking in the relations of the two faiths is that in the Avesta the evil spirits are known as Daeva (modern Persian Dīv), a term which the Indo-Aryans applied, in the form Deva, to the spirits of light. By a similar inversion, Asura, the name of the gods in the Rig-veda, suffered degradation, and at a later date was applied to evil spirits; but in Irān, Ahura was consistently applied in the higher sense to the deity, especially as Ahura Mazda, 'the wise,' to the Supreme God. Later on the two faiths came in contact again under Darius, when he occupied the countries to the north-west of India; but this intercourse led to little positive result, and meanwhile the Iranian creed had assumed a form quite different from that of the Indo-Aryans.

Mazdaism.

This was the work of Zoroaster, whose date is quite uncertain, authorities variously assigning him to the fourteenth or the eleventh century B.C. It was apparently to him that the inverted use of the terms Daeva and Ahura is due. When he comes on the scene we find a contest proceeding between two cults, the higher classes being represented by that of the Ahura, who were cattle-breeders, and venerated the cow. Below them were the Daeva worshippers; and the success of Zoroaster marks the degradation of the Daeva, and the belief in the dualistic system of the universe, in which Druj, 'falsehood,' or Ahriman (Angro Mainyūsh), the spirit enemy, contends with Ahura Mazda. This faith received much of its new elements from Mesopotamia. Submerged for a time by the Greek invasion, it gained a temporary revival under the Sassanid dynasty, and finally was overthrown by Islām, whi h directed its energies to the suppression of the worship of fire.

At this stage many of the survivors were forced to emigrate to India. Ormuz formed an intermediate stage in their wanderings. Finally, in 717 A.D., they arrived at the little port of Sanjān, sixty miles north of Bombay. There they re-established

The Pārsī emigration to India.

the sacred fire, the seeds of which they are said to have brought with them from Persia, and came to be known as Pārsīs, or Persians. They gained the favour of the local chieftains, increased and multiplied, until finally they established relations with the Mughal Court, some of their priests even visiting the Emperor Akbar, who, in his spirit of eclecticism, dallied in turn with Brāhman Pandits, Portuguese missionaries, and Pārsī fire-worshippers. Up to the middle or end of the eighteenth century Surat, Navsāri, and the neighbouring parts of Gujarāt were their head-quarters. The commercial predominance of Bombay attracted large numbers to that city, from which they have now spread all over India and the emporia of the East in quest of trade.

Mazdaism on Indian soil.

At first their weakness and their Hindu environment reacted on their faith, and their creed became hardly distinguishable from the lower Hinduism by which they were surrounded. Their isolation checked the development of their religion, and the sacred Canon was already finally closed. But their prosperity and immunity from persecution attracted fresh immigrants from Irān. The patriotic feeling of the race aroused fresh interest in the national faith, and in recent years the old sacred language has been diligently studied, and the sacred books have been edited and translated. This revival of national feeling has also encouraged the renewal of intercourse with the oppressed remnant who still live under Persian rule, in whose interest the open-handed liberality and political influence of the powerful Bombay houses have been vigorously exercised.

Pārsī religion.

The Pārsīs number at present on Indian soil 94,000, of whom all but 7,000 are found in Bombay and Baroda. They are divided into factions: Kadīmi, 'the older,' and Shenshāi, 'royal,' the point of difference being the mode of reckoning the sacred year. The former, as their name implies, assert that they follow the more primitive practice. The modern Pārsī retains the dualistic theory of the two spirits contending for mastery. The soul after death passes to a place of reward (Bihisht), or of punishment (Dozakh). Conduct in life conditions the fate of each man after death, and the duly performed rites of descendants help the soul to happiness. Fire, water, the sun, moon, and stars are the creation of Ahura Mazda, and are revered. Zarathushtra, the Prophet, is venerated; Soshios, his son, will, they believe, be reincarnated, destroy evil, purify the world, and make Mazdaism supreme. Among their rites the most remarkable is the exposure of the dead on the so-called Towers of Silence.

Jews.

From the statistics it appears that the number of Indian Jews has increased within the last twenty years from 12,000 to 18,000. This increase cannot be attributed to immigration, because India with its astute native mercantile races and low wages of labour offers little attraction to the foreign Jew. There are two well-established Jewish colonies, one at Kolāba in Bombay, the other at Cochin on the Malabar coast. The Bombay Jews, known as Ben-i-Israīl, 'sons of Israel,' are believed to have reached India from Yemen about the sixth century A. D.; some authorities, however, assign their immigration to the time of the Dispersion, others to the fifteenth century A. D., while local tradition fixes their arrival in the second century of our era. The Cochin Jews assign their arrival to the first century, and there seems little doubt that they were on the Malabar coast in the eighth century. Ancient copperplate grants in their favour, and their partial amalgamation with the native races, indicate their early origin. Both Jewish colonies recognize a white and a black section, the latter being those who have more completely coalesced with the native population.

Christianity.

The history of Christianity in India begins with the establishment of the Syrian Church in Malabar, which claims, on authority now generally discredited, to have been founded by the Apostle St. Thomas, whose missionary labours seem to have ended in the dominions of Gondophares, apparently in Lower Sind. This Church was certainly in existence as early as the beginning of the sixth century. When it first emerges into history it formed a branch of the Nestorian community, which, expelled in the fifth century from Europe and Africa, became the leader of the Asiatic Church, with the Patriarch of Babylon as its spiritual head. He supplied the Nestorians with bishops of the Chaldean or Syrian rite, the existence of which at the present day on the Malabar coast is thus explained. It was, however, when Nestorianism prevailed in Persia that it spread thence to India. The life of this Church in India was troublous, due to the efforts of the Portuguese to bring it under the control of Rome. This was nominally effected at the Synod of Diamper (Udayamperūr, near Cochin) in 1599. The result was that the Syrian rite, purged of its Nestorianism, was retained. In 1653 many of its members revolted from Papal control. A schism then occurred. A Carmelite Mission in 1660 succeeded in bringing back most of the Indian Christians to the fold of Rome. The independence of the remnant of the Syrian community was secured by the support of the Dutch,

then masters of the coast. In this way arose the two branches which still exist: the Old Church, or Syrian Catholics, owning allegiance to their own bishops under the Patriarch of Antioch, and retaining the use of the Syrian tongue in their services; and the New Church, or Jacobites, who maintain some dogmas and rites of their own, but are affiliated to Rome.

Catholic Missions.

The first regular Portuguese Mission, under brethren of the Franciscan Order, arrived in 1500 A.D. Its progress was slow, and its work was mainly confined to the Portuguese settlements, till the advent of St. Francis Xavier in 1542. The Malabar coast and the southern districts of Madras were the scene of his labours. After ten years' constant exertions, he sailed for the Further East in 1552, and died soon after on the coast of China, whence his remains were removed, and now rest under a gorgeous shrine in the Church of Bom Jesus at Goa. The Church which he founded adopted missionary work under principles less polemic than those of the earlier Portuguese preachers. Its missionaries, like the celebrated Abbé Dubois in much later times, assumed the habits, dress, and often the titles of Brāhmanic ascetics. They laboured to found an indigenous Church, with a priesthood recruited from the native races, and with this object in view they recognized caste among their converts, a concession which was a cause of much controversy in after-times. The Jesuit Mission in Madura dates from 1606, and with it are associated the names of Robert de Nobili, its founder, who died in 1656, and John de Britto, martyred at Madura in 1693. The parochial organization and industrial schools founded by the Jesuits still survive. These Catholic Churches came under the control of the Inquisition, founded at Goa in 1560, and surviving until its dissolution in 1812. The work of the Jesuit Mission was much impeded by the action taken in Europe against the Order, and it suffered grievous persecution, particularly at the hands of Tipū Sultān, who about 1784 forcibly converted to Islām and deported above the Ghāts a large number of Christians. Meanwhile the tolerance, or indifference, of Akbar and his successors permitted the foundation of Catholic Missions in Northern India, which, if less successful than those of the South, led to the establishment of a Church which survives to the present day.

Protestant Missions.

The first Protestant Mission was established in 1705 by the Lutherans Ziegenbalg and Plutschau, who started their work at Tranquebar under Danish protection. To the former and his successor, Schultze, is due the first Protestant version of the Scriptures in an Indian vernacular. The devoted Swartz

(1750–98), the founder of the famous Tinnevelly Mission, succeeded to their labours. The work of the Lutheran Missions has now, to a great extent, passed into the hands of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The Mission to Calcutta was founded by Kiernander, a Swede, who reached India in 1758. Carey, in spite of opposition from the East India Company, established himself at Serampore in 1799, and founded the Baptist Mission, famous through the literary labours of Marshman and Ward. It was not till 1814 that the Company consented to the foundation of the episcopal see of Calcutta under Bishop Middleton, who succeeded to the work of the devoted Henry Martyn (1806–11), one of the chaplains of the Company. The missionary work of the Church was stimulated by the journeys, recorded in his valuable *Diary*, of the second Bishop of Calcutta, Heber. The first missionary of the Church of Scotland was Dr. Duff, one of the pioneers of higher education in India.

The Christian community.

The Christian community now numbers nearly three millions, of whom more than two and a half millions are native converts, and the remainder Europeans or Eurasians. Of the Native Christians about two-fifths are Roman Catholics, and one-eighth Romo-Syrians; one-ninth belong to the Anglican body, one-eleventh are Jacobite Syrians, one-twelfth Baptists. Of the other sects the best represented are the Lutherans and allied denominations, who claim 6 per cent. of the total, the Methodists 2½, the Presbyterians 1½ per cent.

Nearly two-thirds of the total Christian population are found in Madras, including the Native States of Cochin and Travancore. In these States, where the Syrian Church is strongest, nearly a quarter of the entire native population profess Christianity. In British territory, it is in the eight southern Districts, the scene of the labours of St. Francis Xavier and Swartz, that Christians are most numerous. Then come the Districts of the Telugu country—Kistna, where they are mainly Baptists and Lutherans; Nellore, nearly all Baptists; and Kurnool, Baptists with a respectable minority of Anglicans.

Next comes Bengal with 278,000 Christians, of whom 228,000 are natives; and of these about half are found at Rānchī, in Chotā Nāgpur, where Missions of the Lutheran, Anglican, and Roman Catholic bodies are busily engaged among the forest tribes. Oraons, Mundās, and Khariās supply the majority of converts, those from Hinduism being few, and these do not come from the higher ranks of Hindu society.

Farther north, at Champāran in Bihār, the Roman Catholic Mission has an interesting history. The work of the missionaries began in Nepāl and Tibet, but they were expelled from Nepāl by the newly established Gurkha dynasty. They fled with many of their converts to Bihār, where some of the present Christians are descendants of the original fugitives, still speak their own language, but have intermarried with the Native Christians of the land of their exile.

In the United Provinces the Christians number 103,000, of whom 69,000 are native converts, or nearly treble the numbers at the last decennial Census. The increase appears chiefly in the three western Divisions, where the American Methodist Church 'devoted its efforts chiefly to the very lowest castes, and consequently has to be satisfied with a lower standard of appreciation of the tenets of Christianity than many other Missions require from their converts.'

As regards the other Provinces of the Empire, in the Punjab out of 72,000 Christians, 39,000 are natives. Here, again, the increase has been startling; they numbered only 4,000 in 1881, and are now nearly twice as numerous as they were ten years ago. Delhi, with the Cambridge Mission under the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and a Baptist Mission, shows the largest increase; but with this exception the progress of Christianity is confined to the western part of the area, where Sikhism has been most powerful. In Bombay Native Christians have increased during the last ten years from 130,000 to 181,000. Of these 105,000 are Roman Catholics, 'descendants of converts made by the Portuguese several centuries ago, who at the present day are ignorant and unprogressive.' The remainder is made up of recent converts to a variety of sects, among which the Salvation Army and the Anglican Church take precedence. The figures show a large increase in the number of children, and 'the secret of many of the conversions is to be sought more in the relations which the missionary bodies have been able to establish with the famine waifs in their orphanages, than in any general movement in the adult members of non-Christian communities towards accepting the revelation of the Gospel.' In Assam the Christian population, which now numbers 36,000, has more than doubled in the last ten years, largely the result of efforts of the Welsh and Baptist Missions among the hill tribes. In Burma, where converts have increased in ten years from 71,000 to 129,000, progress has been most rapid among the Karens, who are more amenable

to missionary effort than the Buddhist population. It is only since the annexation that missionaries have enjoyed free opportunities in Upper Burma, and the full harvest of their work is still to be reaped.

Progress of Christianity in the Empire.

Throughout the Empire the progress of Christianity in the period between 1872 and 1901 has been remarkable. It has about doubled its numbers in thirty years, rising from an aggregate of one and a half to nearly three millions. Naturally Native Christians are most largely recruited from the classes outside the Hindu system. The missionary view lays stress on the labours of the early missionaries, the efficiency of the present body of workers, the dissemination of translations of the Scriptures, the improved status of Christians won by their own exertions, the spread of education, benevolence in seasons of famine, and lastly, the impartiality and disinterestedness of the British Government, which has conferred so many benefits upon the people, and is known to be influenced by Christian principles. The question of the large increase in Madras has been discussed from another point of view by Mr. Francis, who points to the improved social position enjoyed by the low-caste man who embraces Christianity. He sums up by saying: 'The remarkable growth in the numbers of Native Christians thus largely proceeds from the natural and laudable discontent with their lot which possesses the lower classes of the Hindus; and so well do the converts, as a class, use their opportunities, that the community is earning for itself a constantly improving position in the public estimation.'

W. CROOKE.

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VERNACULAR LITERATURE

CHAPTER IV

VERNACULAR LITERATURE[1]

The doctrine of *bhakti.*

THE Hindu doctrine of Faith (*bhakti*) was originally propounded in the famous Sanskrit work entitled the *Bhagavad-gītā.* It was subsequently developed in the *Purāṇas*, and especially in the *Bhāgavata.* The date and history of its origin in India are unknown, nor does it concern us at present to consider the question whether it is due to the influence of Christianity, as has been maintained by some eminent scholars. Its essence consists in the acceptance of the necessity of faith in a personal deity, a faith which closely corresponds to what Christians understand by the term. St. Augustine's commentary on faith, as quoted by the late Professor Cowell in the preface to his translation of the *Aphorisms of Śāṇḍilya—quid est credere in Deum? credendo amare, credendo diligere, credendo in eum ire, et eius membris incorporari*—is almost word for word what a modern Hindu would say about *bhakti.*

If we exclude from consideration the religion of some learned Hindus, whose textbooks are written in Sanskrit, the foundation of modern Hinduism is not the esoteric Vēdāntism about which much has been written in Europe, but consists in a belief in a Trinity—the Supreme Deity, His Incarnation, and His Energic Power[2],—consecrated by a passionate *bhakti* directed either to the Incarnation or to the Energic Power conceived as a person.

Vernacular literature essentially religious.

More than half the literature of modern India is directly based on this view of religion. Whether in the form of epic poem, or lyrics, or parenetic treatises, it deals with some aspect of the Deity, either with one of his two great incarnations, Rāma and Krishṇa, or with Śiva and his energic power under the

[1] In the following pages free use has been made, so far as it is applicable, of the account of vernacular literature given in the last edition of the *Gazetteer.* The writer has also more than once repeated language employed by himself on former occasions.

[2] This is the true Trinity of Hinduism,—not the oft-quoted Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Śiva.

form of Durgā[1]. Four-fifths of the rest consists either of commentaries or of treatises on the art of poetry, all of which are ancillary to the purely religious literature. Only the small remainder is definitely secular.

It is noteworthy that many of the vernacular writers, including those who have exercised the greatest influence on the development of the Hindu character, were men in the humblest ranks of life, as contrasted with Sanskrit writers like Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, or Śankara, who were Brāhmans and lived at the courts of kings. The greatest of all the moderns, Tulsī Dās, although a Brāhman by caste, was abandoned by his parents at birth, and was picked up and educated by a wandering ascetic. Kabīr was a weaver, and Dādū a humble cotton-carder. Nāmdēv, the founder of Marāṭhā poetry, was a tailor, and his most famous successor, Tukārām, a struggling Śūdra shopkeeper. Tiruvaḷḷuvar, the brightest star in the South-Indian firmament, was a Pariah, the lowest of the low; and Vēmana, the most admired of Telugu writers, was an untaught peasant.

Poetry and prose.

Indian vernacular literature is divided as to periods by a sharp line coinciding roughly with the commencement of the nineteenth century. The earlier period was the age of poetry, and the later that in which prose first found general employment. In the age of poetry prose was almost unknown, except as a vehicle for commentaries and the like. Even these were often in metre, for every author wrote most naturally in verse. While this verse was always elegant and musical, prose, for want of practice, was awkward and involved. To us it seems curious that writers found prose, like Saul's armour to David, only an incumbrance, and were ever ready to throw it off for the freedom of action granted to them by rules of prosody; yet such was undoubtedly the case. As explained in the chapter on Languages (Vol. I, ch. vii), the general employment of prose in the vernacular was due to English influence and to the need for elementary reading-books for the younger servants of the Company. The first writers advanced with hesitating steps, but a century of practice has given facility and a confident sense of progress. The vernacular prose of the present day is very different from that of a century ago, though, strange to say, few Europeans are aware of the fact, and we find textbooks still in use for Government examinations which were written in the days of the Marquis Wellesley.

[1] With this transfer of the purely spiritual conception of an energic power to the grosser one of a divine female, compare the Trinity of early Arab Christianity—Father, Son, and Virgin-Mother.

Considerations of space prohibit any attempt to give a complete account of the enormous mass of Indian vernacular literature. In the following pages the literature directly or indirectly connected with the three great forms of *bhakti* will be considered first. Here the classification will be, primarily, according to the objects of worship, and only secondarily according to language. Thus the literature, as a whole, dealing with Rāma will be described, followed by brief notices of its most important examples in each language. Then the literatures connected with Kṛishṇa, and with Śiva (or Durgā), will be discussed in the same manner. After these have been disposed of, the remaining space will be allotted to other features of the various literatures. Here each language will be considered separately. Three or four will be handled at some length. The rest must necessarily be dismissed in a few lines for each.

Rāma literature. Rāmānuja.

The literature dealing with Rāma had its origin in the twelfth century in Southern India. Rāmānuja, its founder, came from Conjeeveram. He wrote only in Sanskrit, and addressed himself only to Brāhmans. A Vēdāntist by religion, the cardinal point of his teaching was the personal existence of a Supreme Deity, endowed with every gracious attribute, full of love and pity for the sinful beings who adore him, and granting the released soul a home of eternal bliss near him—a home where each soul never loses its identity, and whose state is one of perfect peace. In the Deity's infinite love and pity he has on occasions become incarnate in various forms for the salvation of mankind, and his fullest and most noble incarnation was that of the Great Example, Rāma-chandra. The sect which Rāmānuja founded did not gain much popularity in Northern India, and was bound by the strictest rules regarding eating, bathing, and dressing.

Rāmānanda.

Early in the fifteenth century one of its prominent members, Rāmānanda, was outcasted for suspected infringement of these rules, and, in dudgeon, he migrated to the Ganges valley, and formed a new sect—teaching in the vernacular, and admitting all castes, even the lowest, to his fold. In other respects his doctrine was identical with that of Rāmānuja. He had twelve apostles, amongst whom were numbered a Rājput, a currier, a barber, and a Musalmān weaver. The last mentioned was the celebrated Kabīr, the founder of the Kabīr-panthī sect. With amazing boldness Kabīr assailed the whole system of idolatrous worship practised by the Hindus as well as the sophistications of Muhammadan doctors. Much of his doctrine, and even some of his language, were borrowed from the Nestorian

Kabīr

Christianity of Southern India. To him Rāma, the Creator, 'The Word,' was a spirit, and they that worshipped him must worship him in spirit and in truth. He was a voluminous writer, his best-known works being the collection of *Sākhīs* (5,000 sayings, each consisting of one stanza) and *Ramainīs* (short doctrinal poems). The mingled wit and wisdom of Kabīr's teaching, together with the purity of his theism, have deservedly given his writings a great reputation, and his compositions are eagerly read and admired at the present day over the whole of Hindustān. The two virtues on which he laid most stress were humanity and truth. At least twenty authoritative works are attributed to him or to his immediate disciples. These are all written in Western Hindī.

Dādū.

In the seventeenth century one Dādū, a cotton-cleaner of Ahmadābād in Gujarāt, founded a sect in Rājputāna which was an offshoot from Kabīr's teaching. He protested against all temples and images, and restricted worship to the mere repetition of the name of Rāma. His doctrine closely resembles that of the older prophet, the main difference being the exclusion of all reference to the Musalmān ideas of the Deity, which we often meet in the writings of Kabīr. He and his successors have left behind them an enormous body of literature, which is still current in Eastern Rājputāna. It has not as yet been much studied by Europeans, and is, so far as the present writer has examined it, couched in Western Hindī.

The *Granth*.

Another offshoot of the religion taught by Kabīr was the Sikh faith preached by Guru Nānak (d. 1538). The *Ādi-Granth*, the holy book of this sect, is a collection of hymns by various authors, formed by degrees in the course of the sixteenth century, being completed by Guru Arjun in 1601. It is more interesting for the mark which it has made on history than for its somewhat heterogeneous contents. A few of the hymns are in Panjābī, some are in Marāṭhī, but most of them are in old Western Hindī.

The three bodies of literature which have just been described, though derived from Rāmānuja's teaching, have little in common with it. Rāma was considered as identical with, not as an incarnation of, the Supreme Deity. The religions on which they were founded wanted that touch of personal love, directed to a gracious individual, for which human nature craves. It followed that, though attracting a few choice souls, they could be but somewhat barren systems of morality to the masses of their respective adherents. Far different was it with the literature which we now proceed to discuss. Seventh in

descent from Rāmānanda, in succession of master and pupil, came Tulsī Dās (1532-1623). The first thing to be noted about him is his success. India has had many reformers, but none, except perhaps the Buddha, has been adopted as a religious teacher by so many professed followers. Kabīr's and Dādū's adherents may be numbered by hundreds of thousands, but to-day at least ninety millions of the people of Upper India acknowledge Tulsī Dās as their guide. One of the greatest reformers and one of the greatest poets that India has produced—to the present writer he is, in both characters, *the* greatest—he disdained to found a church, and contented himself with telling his fellow countrymen how to work out each his own salvation amongst his own kith and kin. All forms of religion, all beliefs and all forms of non-belief in the ordinary polytheism of the many Hindu cults, were to him but so many accidents beside the great truths on which he was never weary of laying stress: namely, that there is one Supreme Being; that sin is hateful, not because it defiles the sinner, but because it is incompatible with that Supreme Being; that man is by nature infinitely sinful and unworthy of salvation; that, nevertheless, the Supreme Being, in his infinite mercy, became incarnate in the person of Rāma to relieve the world of sin; that this Rāma has returned to heaven, and is there, as Rāma, now; that mankind has therefore a God who is not only infinitely merciful but who knows by actual experience how great are man's infirmities and temptations, and who, though himself incapable of sin, is ever ready to extend his help to the sinful being that calls upon him. On all this follows, not independently but as a corollary, the duty which is owed to one's neighbour, and the doctrine of the universal brotherhood of man. Most of his teaching was learned by Tulsī Dās from his predecessors; but, so far as the present writer's knowledge goes, two things were first enunciated by him—the idea of the nature of sin, and that of the celestial humanity of Rāma; and these, as in the case of Kabīr, he almost certainly adopted from the Nestorians. He was the first Hindu to teach that God was δυνάμενος συμπαθῆσαι ταῖς ἀσθενείαις ἡμῶν, a belief which is usually considered to be peculiar to Christianity.

Tulsī Dās.

These lessons Tulsī Dās conveyed through the medium of some of the most beautiful poetry which has found birth in Asia. In Eastern Hindī he had at his disposal a language flexible in its form, copious in its vocabulary, and musical in its tones, which he wielded with a master's hand. His best known work, the religious epic known as the *Rāma-charita-*

mānasa, the 'Lake of the Gestes of Rāma,' is no mere translation of Vālmīki's Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* dealing with the same course of events, but is quite independent in its treatment. As a work of art, it has for European readers its prolixities and episodes which grate against Occidental tastes, but no one can read it in the original without being impressed by it as the work of a great genius. Its style varies with each subject. There is the deep pathos of the scene in which is described Rāma's farewell to his mother; the rugged language describing the horrors of the battle-field—a torrent of harsh sounds, clashing against each other, and reverberating from phrase to phrase; and, as occasion requires, a sententious, aphoristic method of narrative, teeming with similes drawn from nature herself and not from the traditions of the schools. His characters, too, live and move with all the dignity of an heroic age. Each is a real being, with a well-defined personality. Rāma, perhaps too perfect to enlist all our sympathies; his impetuous and loving brother Lakshmaṇa; the tender, constant Bharata; Sītā, the ideal of an Indian wife and mother; Rāvaṇa, destined to failure, and fighting with all his demon force against his destiny—the Satan of the epic—all these are characters as life-like and distinct as any in Occidental literature. Tulsī Dās was not a mere ascetic. He was a man that had lived. He had been a householder (a word of much meaning in India), and had experienced the pleasures of a wedded life, the joy of clasping an infant son to his bosom, and the sorrow of losing that son ere he had attained his prime. He appealed, not to scholars, but to the voiceless millions of his native country—the people that he knew. He had lived with them, begged from them, prayed with them, taught them, shared their yearnings, proved their happiness. He had wandered far and wide, and had contracted intimate friendships with the great men of his time and his country. No wonder that such a man, who was also a rare poet and an enthusiastic reformer, at once sane and clean, was taken for its own by the multitude which lived under the sway of nature and in daily contact with her secrets. 'Here,' cried they, 'is a great soul that knows us. Let us choose him for our guide.'

Besides his epic, eleven other works can, with some certainty, be attributed to Tulsī Dās. Most of them cover either the same ground or a portion of it. Such are the *Gītāvalī* (a sort of Gospel of the Infant Rāma), and the *Kavittāvalī*. Of a purely religious description is the *Vinaya-pattrikā*, 'The Petition,' a volume of prayers addressed to

Rāma when the poet was in great mental distress. As he put it:—

'My soul is plunged in spiritual woe; my body is distracted by a sore disease; my very words are foul and false; and yet, O Lord, with thee doth Tulsī hold the close kinship of a perfect love.'

Some of his thoughts bear a striking resemblance to those expressed in Christian liturgies. For instance, the following, taken almost at random from his pages:—

'Lord, look thou upon me—nought can I do of myself. Whither can I go? To whom but thee can I tell my sorrows? Oft have I turned my face from thee, and grasped the things of this world; but thou art the fount of mercy; turn not *thou* thy face from me. When I looked away from thee, I had no eye of faith to see thee as thou art; but thou art all-seeing. . . . First look upon thyself and remember thy mercy and thy might, and then cast thine eyes upon me and claim me as thy slave, thy very own. For the name of the Lord is a sure refuge, and he who taketh it is saved. Lord, thy ways ever give joy unto the heart. Tulsī is thine alone, and, O God of mercy, do unto him as seemeth good unto thee.'

On account of its historical interest, as well as for the striking coincidence with Sir Henry Wotton's 'Lord of himself, though not of lands,' one more extract from Tulsī's poetry is given. It was written on the death of his friend Tōdar Mal, who is traditionally, but incorrectly, said to have been identical with Akbar's great finance minister.

'Lord of but four small villages, yet a mighty monarch whose kingdom was himself; in this age of evil hath the sun of Tōdar set.

'The burden of Rāma's love, great though it was, he bare unto the end; but too heavy was the burden of this world, and so he laid it down.

'Tulsī's heart is like a pure fountain in the garden of Tōdar's virtues; and when he thinketh of them, it overfloweth, and tears well forth from his eyes.

'Tōdar hath gone to the dwelling-place of his Lord, and therefore doth Tulsī refrain himself; but hard it is for him to live without his pure friend.'

Tulsī Dās has had hundreds of followers. The literature of Eastern Hindī is the largest and most valuable of any which has existed in India since his time. His doctrines have been preached with enthusiasm and have been almost universally accepted in Hindustān. But he has had no imitators. Looking back along the vista of centuries we see his noble figure, unapproached and solitary in its niche in the Temple

of Fame, shining in its own pure radiance as the guide and saviour of Hindustān. When we compare the religious and moral atmosphere of his country with that of other regions of India in which Rāma-worship has no hold, and not till then, can we justly estimate his importance. His influence on literature has been equally great. Since his time all the epic poetry of Upper India has been written in Eastern Hindī.

Although the Rāma-legend has been mainly a subject of literature in Northern India, we also find occasional instances of its treatment in other parts of the country. Kīrttibās Ōjhā wrote a Bengali recension of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the sixteenth century. He had no important successor, as, after his time, nearly all Bengali poetry was dedicated, not to Rāma, but to Śiva and his queen. His work is, however, still recited at village festivals. In Western Hindī we have the elegant *Rāma-chandrikā* of the celebrated Kēśav Dās, who will be referred to again in the following pages, and many other works of less importance. The present writer has seen no less than thirteen different versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in various dialects of this language. In Marāṭhī, the learned Mōrōpant wrote several poems dealing with the history of Rāma, and other authors also handled the subject, although the favourite deity of Marāṭhī literature may be said to be Viṭhōbā, a form of Kṛishṇa.

We have already seen that Rāmānuja belonged to the south of India. We need not, therefore, wonder at finding a Tamiḻ *Rāmāyaṇa* written by Kamban in the eleventh century, which is described by Bishop Caldwell as a highly finished and very popular work. Malayāḷam literature is said to commence with a *Rāma-charita*, written in the thirteenth or fourteenth century; and one of the oldest works in Kanarese is the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kumāra Vālmīki, a Brāhman of Shōlāpur District.

The range of literature dealing less directly with Rāma is immense. Commentaries, works on poetics, and even special vocabularies in most of the great Indian languages, have seen the light in profusion. To give any account of them in the present pages would be impossible.

Kṛishṇa-literature.

The acceptance of Kṛishṇa as a deity is as old as the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*. It is strongly inculcated in the tenth book of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, and has been wedded to immortal verse in the Indian Song of Songs, the *Gīta-gōvinda* of Jayadēva; but it did not become a systematized form of popular religion till it was preached by a Telinga Brāhman, settled near Mathurā (Muttra), named Vallabhāchārya, in the early part of the six-

Vallabhāchārya.

teenth century. His son-in-law was Chaitanya, the founder of the allied sect in Bengal.

In one important point Kṛishṇa-worship is sharply differentiated from the Rāma-cult. In the latter, save in a few later developments, the worshipper's adoration is directed to Rāma alone, and the love exhibited by him is that of a father for his child. In the former the love is sexual. The object of worship is twofold, Kṛishṇa and, conjointly with him, his divine queen, Rādhā[1]. The relation of the individual soul to the Deity is the passionate adoration of a woman for her lover. The soul identifies itself with Rādhā, and is thus led by its religion to offer not of its own, but its whole self to God. Hence its devotion to the Deity is pictured by Rādhā's self-abandonment to Kṛishṇa; and all the hot blood of Oriental passion is encouraged to pour forth one mighty torrent of praise and prayer to the Infinite Creator, who waits with loving outstretched arms to receive the worshipper into his bosom, and to convey him safely across the seemingly shoreless Ocean of Existence. Like the sexual idea on which it is founded, the whole parable is a mystery, and is only to be understood by a child of nature. We find writers describing the most intimate relations of man and wife with an openness which absolutely prohibits translation; yet no indecent thought entered their minds as they wrote these burning words, and those who would protest, and who often have protested, against employing the images of the lupanar in dealing with the most sacred longings of the soul, may be reminded that:—

> 'Wer den Dichter will verstehen,
> Muss in Dichters Lande gehen.'

Such was Kṛishṇa-worship as it was taught by its founders, and as it appealed to its great writers. But these esoteric thoughts were little suited to the common herd; and as the cult has spread among the uneducated, it has too often degenerated into infamous licence, and scenes sometimes take place under the hallowed name of religion which were little contemplated by its founders.

While the literature of Rāma is mostly epic, that of Kṛishṇa, as its subject demands, is nearly entirely lyric—a species of composition in which the Indian genius easily exhibits a high degree of excellence. In Upper India the most famous of Vallabhāchārya's successors was Sūr Dās, the blind bard of Agra. He wrote in the Braj Bhāshā dialect of Western Hindī,

Sūr Dās.

[1] One of the most famous works of this school, the *Satsaiyā* of Bihārī, commences with an invocation to Rādhā and not to Kṛishṇa.

and his language is considered to be the purest specimen of that form of speech. Any doubtful point of idiom or grammar is immediately settled by a reference to his great work. According to native tradition, he and Tulsī Dās have between them exhausted every possibility of poetic form, and all subsequent writers can be but copyists or imitators. Without expressing so extreme an opinion, it may be admitted that his *Sūr-sāgar* (said to extend to 60.000 lines) contains hundreds of fine passages. It is written in the form of songs strung together on the legend of Kṛishna, and ever since it was composed Braj Bhāshā has been the dialect in which most of the literature dealing with this aspect of Hinduism has been written. Although Sūr Dās deserves a high place among Indian poets, the European student will prefer the nobility of character inherent in all that Tulsī Dās wrote to the pleasing but gentler muse of his great contemporary. Sūr Dās had many successors, the most famous of whom was Bihārī Lāl of Jaipur, whose *Sat-saiyā*, or collection of seven hundred detached verses, is one of the daintiest pieces of art in any Indian language. Bound by the rules of metre, each verse had a limit of forty-six syllables, and generally contained less. Nevertheless each was a complete picture in itself, a miniature description of a mood or a phase of nature, in which every touch of the brush is exactly the needed one, and not one is superfluous. The excessive compression necessitated renders the poems extremely difficult, and he has been aptly named 'the Mine of Commentators'; but no one who reads them can resist admiring the appropriateness and elegance alike of his diction and his thoughts. He is particularly happy in his description of natural phenomena, such as the heavy, scent-laden breeze of an Indian gloaming—the wayworn pilgrim from the sandal-south, adust, not from the weary road, but from his pollen quest; brow-beaded with rose-dew for sweat, and lingering 'neath the trees, resting himself, and inviting others to repose. Or, in more playful mood, he sets a riddle:—

Bihārī Lāl.

'"At even came the rogue, and with my tresses
Toyed with a sweet audace—with ne'er a 'please'
Snatched a rude kiss—then wooed me with caresses.
Who was it, dear?" "Thy love?" "No, dear, the breeze."'

Some pictures, too, of Kṛishṇa's wooing, and of the timid bride, are charmingly graceful, though not so capable of translation.

Eastern Hindī, the language of Tulsī Dās, can hardly be said to possess a Kṛishṇa literature; but in Bihārī there was

Vidyāpati, one of the oldest of its poets, who achieved great success in the art of writing short lyrics on the subject. He flourished in the latter half of the fifteenth century. Chaitanya was ever quoting them, and they thus fixed the shape of all the poetry on this subject in Bengal. Chaṇḍī Dās was a contemporary and friend of Vidyāpati, and wrote similar verses in Bengali. After his time Bengali Kṛishṇa-literature was confined to imitations of these two authors, but was quickly overshadowed by the poems of the Śaiva revival of the sixteenth century. In Orissa it retained its predominance owing to the prestige of the worship of Jagannāth, a form of Kṛishṇa; and there are numerous works of the school, the most admired of which is the *Rasa-kallōḷa*, or 'Billows of Passion,' written in the sixteenth century by Dīna-kṛishṇa Dās. This work leans more to the sensual side of the religion than do those which we have hitherto noticed. In Rājputāna the most prominent figure is Mīrā Bāī, a princess of Mewāṛ, who was a contemporary of Vidyāpati. She more properly belongs to Western Hindī, as she wrote her songs, which are extremely popular, in Braj Bhāshā. The following is one of them which is current all over Northern India. 'Kānh' is one of the many forms which the name of Kṛishṇa takes.

> 'Kānh have I bought. The price he asked I gave.
> Some cry "'Tis great," and others jeer "'Tis small."
> I gave in full, weighed to the utmost grain,
> My love, my life, my self, my soul, my all.'

Tukārām.

In Marāṭhī Kṛishṇa-literature, the most celebrated author is Tukārām or Tukōbā, a man of the Śūdra caste, who was born in 1608. He began life as a petty shopkeeper, and being unsuccessful both in his business and in his family relations he abandoned the world and became a wandering devotee. His *Abhangas* or 'unbroken' hymns, probably so called from their indefinite length and loose, flowing metre, are famous in the country of his birth, but do not greatly appeal to European taste. They are fervent, but, though abounding in excellent morality, do not rise to any great height as poetry. The particular form of Kṛishṇa which he addressed was the much worshipped Viṭṭhala, or Viṭhōbā, of Paṇḍharpur. The following translation by Dr. Wilson[1] of the favourite 'Confession' is a good example of Tukārām's somewhat pedestrian muse:—

> 'I am thy helpless sinful one; without works, of blind understanding.

[1] Taken from p. xxviii of the second edition of Molesworth's *Marāṭhī Dictionary*.

'I have never remembered thee with my mouth, O ocean of favour, O parent.

'I have not listened to the song of praise; through shame I have lost my interests.

'I have not relished the Purāṇas; the assembled Saints I have blasphemed.

'I have not practised or caused to be practised liberality, nor have I been compassionate to the sufferer.

'I have done the business which I ought not to have done; I have borne the anxiety of my family.

'I have not visited holy places; I have kept back (from labour) my body, hands, and feet.

'I have not given service or charity to the Saints; (nor) contemplated images.

'With those with whom I ought not to have associated I have been guilty of sin.

'I have been ignorant of what is advantageous; nor have I remembered what should have been said.

'I am my own destroyer; I am an enemy (to all), I am a spiteful one.

'Do thou, then, O ocean of mercy, grant salvation. Thus saith Tukā.'

How different is all this from the burning words of Tulsī Dās quoted above on p. 420!

Other Marāṭhī poets who may be mentioned in this connexion are Śrīdhar (1678–1728), the most copious of all, who translated the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*; and the learned Mayūra or Mōrōpant, whose works smell too much of the lamp to satisfy European standards of criticism.

After merely mentioning the fact that there are several poems dealing with Kṛishṇa in Assamese and Kāshmīrī, we turn to the Dravidian languages. The most important work of the kind in Tamil is the great hymnology, the *Nālāyira-prabandham*, some of the contents of which are said to date from the twelfth century; but in this language Kṛishṇa-literature does not take the same important position as elsewhere. On the other hand, in Kanarese there are numerous works connected with this form of worship. We have, for instance, a translation of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* by Chāṭu Viṭṭhala-nātha; a *Jagannātha-vijaya* by Rudra; a *Kṛishṇa-līlābhyudaya* of Hari-dāsa; and the so-called *Dāsa-padas*, or hymns sung by Kṛishṇa's servants in honour of their master. In Telugu, a translation of the *Bhāgavata* by Bammera Pōtarāja is a classic. The tenth canto, dealing with the early adventures of Kṛishṇa, is especially popular.

Śiva-literature.

The *bhakti*-literature inspired by the worship of Śiva and his queen Durgā has received its highest cultivation in Southern India and Bengal. The worship of Śiva in the Tamil country

found its earliest literary expression in the *Tiru-vāśagam*, or 'Holy Word' of Māṇikka Vāśagar, who lived in the eleventh century. His verses are said to have been transcribed by the god himself. They are still extremely popular; and, according to Dr. Pope, their translator, few poems in any language can surpass them in profundity of thought and earnestness of feeling, or in that simple, childlike trust in which the struggling human soul, with its burden of intellectual and moral puzzles, finally finds shelter. A later and larger collection of hymns addressed to Śiva is the *Tīvāram* of Sambandha, Sundara, and Appa. In all these the adoration is directed to Śiva himself, and this is also the case with the Kanarese Śaiva-literature, which is of some extent, but possesses no work of importance.

Durgā-literature.

In Bengal, on the other hand, it is Śiva's bride, Durgā, looked upon as his *Śakti*, or Energic Principle, who is directly worshipped. In its earliest literature we meet this form of religion (which the prominence given to sexual ideas has sometimes dragged down to the lowest depths) in the Sanskrit *Tantras*. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the vernacular literature of Bengal was devoted to Kṛishṇa, but for the next 250 years its chief theme was Durgā, usually under the name of Kālī or Chaṇḍī. The earliest and greatest of these writers was Mukunda Rām Chakravartī (seventeenth century), commonly known as Kabi Kankan, or the Jewel of Bards. His two great works are original tales designed to illustrate the power and graciousness of his favourite goddess. Of these the most popular is the story of the hunter Kālakētu and his wife Phullarā, raised to affluence and protected in misfortune by their divine guardian. The second poem, the *Śrīmanta Saudāgar*, tells us how the merchant Dhanapati marries Khullanā as a second wife; how, in her husband's absence, she is ill-treated by Lahanā, the elder wife; and how, through Chaṇḍī's favour, all ultimately comes right. In the second part of the poem we are told how Dhanapati journeys to Ceylon and is there imprisoned, and how he is rescued by his and Khullanā's son Śrīmanta. Extracts from these two works have been put into admirable English verse by the late Professor Cowell, who calls Mukunda Rām 'the Crabbe among Indian poets,' and lays stress on the fact that in his works we may find a picture of Bengali village life as it actually existed in the seventeenth century, before any European influences had begun to affect the national character or widen its intellectual and moral horizon. It is this vivid realism which gives such permanence

Mukunda Rām.

to the descriptions. The poem forms in itself a storehouse of materials for the social history of the people as apart from their rulers.

There were many other Bengali writers the theme of whose verses was, directly or indirectly, the goddess Durgā. The two most important are Rām Prasād of Nadiā, who is best known for his hymns; and Bharat Chandra Rāi, famous for his *Bidyā Sundar*, a love poem, in which the frail heroine's life is saved by the goddess. The subject of this work was a favourite one, and had already attracted the pen of Rām Prasād, but Bharat Chandra's version is the one which has seized the popular fancy. To a European its passion often seems artificial enough, though this is counterbalanced by the sensuous realism of some of the love scenes.

Western Hindī. Bardic chronicles.

Turning now to the literatures not founded on the idea of *bhakti*, and dealing with them language by language, we commence with Western Hindī. The earliest work, and one of the most important, is the *Prithīrāj Rāsau* of Chand Bardāī. Chand was a native of Lahore, but lived at the court of Prithīrāj, the last Hindu sovereign of Delhi, at the close of the twelfth century. He wrote in an old form of the Braj Bhāshā dialect, when the modern vernacular had not yet completely emancipated itself from the inflexional type of Śaurasēnī Prākrit. His huge poem, said to contain 100,000 stanzas, is, if it be genuine, a bardic chronicle of his master's deeds and a contemporary history of this part of India. The authenticity of the work, as we have it now, has of late years been seriously doubted; and the truth probably is that, like the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*, the text is so encumbered by spurious additions that it is impossible to separate the original from its accretions. The whole is in ballad form, and portions of it are still sung by wandering bards throughout North-Western India and Rājputāna. Readers of Tod's *Rajasthan* will be familiar with his many spirited translations from Chand, and the poem, even as we have it, is a not unworthy monument of Rājput chivalry. It is noteworthy as the first of the long series of bardic chronicles which are the glory of Rājputāna. These are known only by repute to European scholars, and, with few exceptions, have never been printed. Such chronicles are not confined to Rājputāna. Gujarāt, which was for many centuries politically connected with that country, has them too, and an enormous body of historical literature, hitherto little studied, is awaiting the fortunate explorer. All that we now know about it has

been gathered from the pages of Tod's fascinating volume, or (for Gujarāt) from those of Forbes's *Rās Mālā.*

Nearly all the literature of Western Hindī, as elsewhere in India, is in verse; and, in addition to poetry proper, it includes a great number of technical works on poetics and kindred subjects. The most famous writer in this department of literature was Kēsav Dās of Bundēlkhaṇḍ (flourished 1580), whose poems, especially the *Kavi-priyā* and the *Rasik-priyā*, are universally accepted as authoritative. Worthy successors were Chintāmaṇi Tripāṭhī of Cawnpore District (flourished 1650), and Padmākar Bhaṭṭ of Bāndā (flourished 1815); but there were many other excellent writers. All of them illustrated their somewhat dry rules with original illustrations, so that every work on the art of poetry is really a *cento* of verses, often highly poetical and fanciful. Sub-branches of this form of literature were the *nāyaka-nāyikā-bhēds* and the *nakh-sikhs.* The former of these were devoted to classifying and describing all possible kinds of heroes and heroines, with a traditional and absurdly pedantic minuteness; while the latter were devoted to the portrayal of every member of the body of a hero or heroine from the toe-nail (*nakh*) to the top-knot of the hair (*sikh*), in both cases with illustrative verses. Such a work was intended to be used as a kind of *Gradus ad Parnassum* by poets in want of ideas; but, unlike that handbook of our school-days, it affords very pleasant, if somewhat disconnected, reading.

A descendant of the old Rājput bards was Lāl Kavi, whose *Chhatra-prakāś* is a poetical history of Bundēlkhaṇḍ at the time of Chhatra-śāl of Pannā (1649–1731). It has been printed more than once, and was utilized by Pogson in his *History of the Boondelas.* Another author who deserves mention is Girdhar Das, who flourished in the first half of the eighteenth century. His Braj Bhāshā verses in the *Kuṇḍaliyā* metre are universal favourites. One of them, in praise of the cudgel, is so popular among the Bhojpurīs (a well-known fighting race) that it might almost be called their national anthem. It has been paraphrased by Mr. W. S. Meyer, who has admirably caught the spirit of the original:—

> 'Great the virtues of the stick!
> Keep a stick with you alway—
> Night and day, well or sick.
>
> 'When a river you must cross,
> If you'd save your life from loss,
> Have a stout stick in your hand:
> It will guide you safe to land.

'When the angry dogs assail,
Sturdy stick will never fail:
Stick will stretch each yelping hound
On the ground.

'If an enemy you see,
Stick will your protector be:
Sturdy stick will fall like lead
On your foeman's wicked head.

'Well doth poet Girdhar say
(Keep it carefully in mind),
"Other weapons leave behind,
Have a stick with you alway."'

Urdū literature.

The preceding works were written by Hindus, and were based on Sanskrit rules of composition and prosody. Another group of works drew its inspiration from Persian, and, being also poetical, followed the altogether different rules of Persian prosody. This is the Urdū literature, which began in the Deccan at the end of the sixteenth century, and received a definite standard of form a hundred years later at the hands of Walī of Aurangābād, commonly called 'the Father of Rēkhta.' His example was quickly followed at Delhi, where a school of poets took its rise, of which the most brilliant members were Saudā (died 1780), the author of the famous satires, and Mīr Taqī (died 1810). Another school arose in Lucknow during the troubles at Delhi in the middle of the eighteenth century. Among the later Urdū authors belonging to the Delhi school, though he lived at Agra, we may mention Walī Muḥammad (Naẓīr) (died 1832), whose works have great popularity among both Muhammadans and Hindus, and are free from the extreme Persianization that disfigures the writings of the authors who belonged to Lucknow.

As has been explained in the chapter on Language, both Urdū and Hindī prose took their rise under English influence at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The *Bāgh o Bahār* of Mīr Amman and the *Khirad Afrōz* of Hafīẓu'd-dīn are familiar examples of the earlier of these works in Urdū, and the *Prēm Sāgar* of Lallū Lāl is a type of those in Hindī. Since then prose in both these forms of Hindōstānī has had a prosperous course, and it is unnecessary to dwell upon the copious literature which has poured from the press during the past century. Muḥammad Ḥusain (Āzād) and Pandit Ratan Nāth (Sarshār) are probably the most eminent among living writers of Urdū, while in Hindī the late Hariśchandra of Benares by universal consent holds the first place. Hindī has no poetical literature,

but Urdū poetry continues to flourish. Ḥālī is perhaps the best known of the Urdū poets of the present day.

Rājasthānī literature.

Rājasthānī literature is mainly composed of bardic chronicles, which have already been dealt with. Mīrā Bāī of Chitor wrote in Braj Bhāshā. In Mārwār both that dialect and Mārwāṛī have for centuries been employed for poetry, the former being locally known as *Pingal* and the latter as *Ḍingal.* The most admired *Ḍingal* work is the *Raghunāth-rūpak* of Manśā-rām, written at the commencement of the nineteenth century. It is a prosody with copious original examples, so arranged that they give a continuous history of the life of Rāma.

Gujarātī literature.

Gujarātī has an old literature, dating from the fourteenth century, which has been little explored. The oldest writers dealt with philology. The first poet was Narsingh Mētā or Mēhētā (1413–79). He does not seem to have written any long work, and his fame rests upon his short religious songs, many of which exhibit considerable grace. Among his followers we may mention Prēmānand Bhaṭṭ (flourished 1681), author of the *Narsingh Mēhētānū Māmērū*), Rēwā-Śankar (translator of the *Mahābhārata*), and Sāmal Bhaṭṭ. Gujarāt has not yet produced a great poet approaching in excellence the mediaeval masters of Hindōstān. Of more importance are its bardic chronicles already mentioned. Under English influence a number of works have issued from the press of late years, but these possess little originality, and are mostly translations.

Panjābī literature.

Panjābī has no formal literature—as already said, even most of the Sikh *Granth* is in Western Hindī—but is specially rich in ballad-poetry which is much admired by those who have studied it, and has been more than once translated for the benefit of English readers. Some of these ballads are almost epic poems, and one, the *Hir and Rānjhā* of Wāriṣ Shāh, is worthy of particular notice on account of the purity of its language.

Kashmīrī literature.

Kashmīrī has an old literature which has not yet been explored. It is mainly religious. Under Musalmān domination it also produced some imitations of Persian poetry, such as a version of the tale of *Yūsuf and Zulaikha.*

Eastern Hindī literature.

Nearly all the Eastern Hindī literature has followed its great master, and is devoted to the cult of Rāma. There are, however, some important works which do not fall within this class. In the year 1540 (more than thirty years before Tulsī Dās commenced his epic) Malik Muḥammad wrote the *Padumāwati,* and dedicated it to Shēr Shāh. It is remarkable both for the originality of its subject and for its poetical beauty, and was the first important work written in Eastern Hindī. It is a tale

The *Padumāwatī*

founded on the historical siege and capture of the virgin city of Chitor by Alāu-'d-dīn Khiljī in A.D. 1303. Ratan Sēn, its king, having heard from a parrot of the charms of Padmāvatī, princess of Ceylon, journeys thither, and after many perils succeeds in winning her. Returning with her to Chitor, he lives there happily till Alāu-'d-dīn hears of her beauty and demands her for his seraglio. Ratan refuses, and wai is declared. He is treacherously taken prisoner, and held as a hostage for her surrender. During her husband's imprisonment proposals of an insulting nature are made to Padmāvatī by the Rājā of the neighbouring state of Kambhalnēr, which she rejects with scorn. Ratan is subsequently released from his dungeon by his friends Gōrā and Bādal; and as soon as he is again seated on his throne he attacks Kambhalnēr, and kills its king, but is himself sorely wounded, and only reaches home to die. His two wives, Padmāvatī and Nāgmatī, become *satī* for him, and while their ashes are still warm Alāu-'d-dīn's army appears before the city. It is nobly defended by Bādal, who falls fighting at the gate, but in the end is taken and sacked, 'and Chitor becomes Islām.' In the final verses of his work the poet explains that it is all an allegory. By Chitor he means the body of man; by Ratan Sēn, the soul; by the parrot, the *guru* or spiritual preceptor; by Padmāvatī, wisdom; by Alāu-'d-dīn, delusion, and so on. The *Padumāwati* is a noble poem; its author's ideal is high, and throughout the work of the Musalmān ascetic there run veins of the broadest charity and of sympathy with those higher spirits among his fellow countrymen who were searching in God's twilight for that truth of which some of them achieved a clearer vision.

One other important work in Eastern Hindī is the translation of the *Mahābhārata* (published in 1829) by the Benares poet Gōkulnāth and others. It has a great reputation, which it well deserves. Some of its verses are household words throughout Northern India.

Marāṭhī literature.

The main figure in Marāṭhī literature is Tukārām, who has already been disposed of. Nāmdēv, the tailor (thirteenth century), was the earliest Marāṭhā writer of importance. He is known to us by hymns enshrined in the Sikh *Granth*, as well as by those current in his own country. Contemporaries of his were Dnyānōbā (author of an esteemed paraphrase of the *Bhagavad-gītā*) and Mukunda-rāy, a Vēdāntic writer. Eknāth, who wrote also in Hindōstānī, was a contemporary of Shāhjī, the father of Śivajī, and composed several Vaishṇava works. Rām-dās, a devotee of Rāma, was the spiritual teacher of

Śivajī, over whom he exercised great influence. His principal work was the *Dāsbōdh*, dealing with religious duties. Śrīdhar, already mentioned under the head of Kṛishṇa-worship, wrote a number of poems based on the Sanskrit epics and *Purāṇas*. Mōrōpant has also been dealt with. Mahīpati (1715–90) was an imitator of Tukārām, but his chief importance rests on the fact that he collected the popular traditions about national saints. His various works, such as the *Bhakta-vijaya*, the *Bhakta-līlāmṛita*, the *Santa-vijaya*, and the *Santa-līlāmṛita*, are commonly described as the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Marāṭhās. *Lāvaṇīs*, or erotic lyrics, especially those of Anantaphaṇḍī (1744–1819) and Rāmjōśī (1762–1812), are very popular, but often more fervent than decent. Another branch of Marāṭhī literature is composed of the *Pañwāḍās* or war-ballads, mostly by nameless poets, which are sung everywhere through the country. There is a small prose literature. It embraces narratives of historical events (the so-called *Bakhars*), moral maxims, such as the *Vidur-nīti*, and popular tales.

Bihārī literature.

Bihārī literature is small, and, with the exception of the songs of Vidyāpati (see p. 424), unimportant. All the works which have come down to us are in the Maithilī dialect. Lyrics in the style of Vidyāpati are popular, and there are more than a dozen of his imitators. Manbōdh Jhā (d. 1788) wrote a *Haribans*, or poetical life of Kṛishṇa, of which ten cantos have survived. The dramatic art is still cultivated. The body of a play is written in Sanskrit and Prākrit, but the songs are in Maithilī.

Oṛiyā literature.

The earliest Oṛiyā works are lyrical verses dealing with episodes in the life of Kṛishṇa. In the first part of the sixteenth century Jagannātha Dāsa wrote a version of the *Bhāgavata*, Balarāma one of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Sāraḷā Dāsa a *Bhārata*, and Achyutānanda a *Harivaṁśa*. None of these is of much merit. They were followed by Dīna-kṛishṇa Dāsa (who lived about three hundred years ago), mentioned on p. 424 as the author of the graceful, but wanton, *Rasa-kallōḷa*; and shortly after him came Upēndra Bhanja of Goomsur in Ganjām, whose fame rests upon two romantic poems entitled respectively, after the names of their heroines, *Lāvaṇyavatī* and *Kōṭibrahmāṇḍa-sundarī*, and on a *Vaidēhī-vilāsa*. They are spoilt by the excessive employment of a Sanskritized vocabulary.

Bengali literature.

Most of the great Bengali works have been described under the head of Kṛishṇa- or Śiva-worship. We may also mention the Bengali version of the *Mahābhārata* by Kāśī-rām Dās (fif-

teenth century). It is nowadays reckoned as a classic, and is still chanted by professional bards. With the commencement of the nineteenth century came a revival of Bengali literature under English influence. Bengali prose was created—at first a deformed *pasticcio* of Sanskrit words, held together here and there by a vernacular pronoun or inflexion. The language thus fabricated has developed into the literary Bengali of the present day, regarding which see the chapter on Languages. Its immediate parent was the theistic reform headed by Rājā Rām Mohan Rāi, who is recognized as the father of Bengali prose. He was followed by Akshay Kumār Datta, while Īśwar Chandra (Vidyāsāgar) (born 1820) devoted himself to social reform upon orthodox Hindu lines. The enforced celibacy of widows and the abuses of polygamy were his special objects of attack. He was also the author of several early school-books, which were once very popular; and his *Charitābalī* (a sort of Indian *Self-Help*) was for many decades the first book in the language read by officials appointed to Eastern India. The best product of Bengali prose is its fiction. The founder of the school was Bankim Chandra Chatterji (1838–94), whose first novel, the *Durgēśanandinī*, took the Indian literary world by storm in the year 1864. In 1872 he started a high-class literary magazine, the *Banga-darśan*, which rapidly achieved popularity, and in which many of his later novels first saw the light. From the appearance of this magazine modern Bengali prose takes its rise. It quite superseded the original pedantic literary language, with its 'frigid conceits, traditional epithets, and time-honoured phraseology,' and became an instrument of considerable flexibility and polish, although still encumbered with an unwieldy Sanskrit vocabulary. Bankim Chandra has had numerous successors, the most versatile of whom was Pyārī Chand Mittra (Tēkchand Thākur), whose *Allālēr Gharēr Dulāl* is (to European tastes) the best novel in the language.

Bankim Chandra.

In Bengali poetry of the nineteenth century, Īśwar Chandra Gupta (b. 1809) was the forerunner of the modern school, more catholic in its spirit than the products of earlier generations. His fame was overshadowed by that of Madhu Sūdan Datt (1824–73), who now ranks higher in the estimation of his countrymen than any Bengali poet of this or any previous age.

The *Nīl-darpaṇ* of Dīna-bandhu-Mittra (1829–73) was the most important dramatic work of this period. It was a picture of the abuses of indigo-planting in the middle of the last century, and appeared in 1860. Few plays have created a

greater sensation than this did in Calcutta. It was translated into English, and its translator was fined and imprisoned for libel.

In literary history, Bengali has the *Banga-bhāshā ō Sāhitya* of Dīnēś Chandra Sēn—one of the few works of serious research on European lines which has issued from a modern Indian press.

Assamese literature.

The Āhoms, who conquered Assam in the thirteenth century, were great historians, and to their influence and example is due the pride of Assamese literature—its histories. These works are numerous and lengthy. According to the custom of the country, a knowledge of them has for centuries been an indispensable qualification for anybody pretending to education; and every family of distinction, as well as government and the public officers, kept the most minute records of contemporary events. But Assamese literature is by no means confined to history. Some seventy poetical works, mainly religious, have been catalogued. The most celebrated poet was Śrī Śankar, a Vaishṇava religious reformer and translator of the *Bhāgavata*. Other authors were Rāma-Sarasvatī, the translator of both the *Mahābharata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and Mādhab, the author of the *Bhakti-ratnāvali* and other poems. Dramatic works were also popular; while, owing to the fact that a knowledge of the science was necessary to a well-bred gentleman, there is a large body of medical works, principally translations or adaptations from the Sanskrit.

Tamiḻ literature.

Tradition refers the commencement of literature in the Tamiḻ country to the Brāhman saint Agastya, the mythical apostle of the Deccan. The oldest Tamiḻ grammar, the *Tolkāppiyam*, is ascribed to one of his pupils. Whenever it was really written, the quotations contained in it show that Tamiḻ had at the time a literary history of its own. The beginning of Tamiḻ literature proper was due to the labours of the Jains, whose activity as authors in this language extended from the eighth or ninth to the thirteenth century. The earliest important work is believed to be the *Nālaḍiyār*, said to have consisted originally of 8,000 verses, written, one each, by as many Jains. They were cast into a river by a monarch who quarrelled with the authors, and of the whole number 400 floated upstream, while the rest disappeared. These 400 constitute the *Nālaḍiyār* of the present day. Each verse is a detached moral saying, unconnected with the others. The collection is much esteemed, and it is still taught in every Tamiḻ vernacular school. To the same period belongs the famous

Kurral of Tiruvalluvar, a Pariah by caste. This consists of 2,660 short couplets dealing, like the *Nāladiyār*, with the three subjects of virtue, wealth, and pleasure. It is the acknowledged masterpiece of Tamiḻ composition. Every sect, Śaiva, Vaishṇava, or Jain, claims the author as its member; but Bishop Caldwell considers that its tone is more Jain than anything else. The author's reputed sister, called Auveiyār, 'The Venerable Matron,' is one of the most highly admired Tamil poets. To the same period belong the romantic epic, the *Chintāmaṇi*, by an unknown poet; the *Rāmāyaṇam* of Kamban (see p. 421); the old dictionary, the *Divākaram*; the classical Tamiḻ grammar, the *Nannūl*, of Pavaṇanti; and other works.

After the Jain period we have the great Śaiva movement of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, to which we owe the hymnologies already described. Then came two centuries of literary inactivity, followed at the end of the sixteenth century by a revival headed by the poet-king Vallabha-dēva. This was a period of translations and imitations of Sanskrit works, none of much value. In the seventeenth century there arose an anti-Brāhmanical Tamiḻ literature known as the school of the Śittar (or Siddhas). The Śittar were a Tamiḻ sect, who, while retaining Śiva as the name of the one God, rejected everything in Śiva-worship inconsistent with pure theism. They were quietists in religion and alchemists in science. Their mystical poems, especially the *Śiva-vākyam*, are said to be of singular beauty, and some scholars have detected in them traces of Christian influence[1].

[1] The following specimens of the Śittar school of Tamiḻ poetry are taken from Bishop Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar*, pp. 147, 148. The first is a version of a poem of the *Śiva-vākyam*, given by Mr. R. C. Caldwell, the Bishop's son, in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1872.

THE SHEPHERD OF THE WORLDS

How many various flowers
Did I, in bygone hours,
Cull for the gods, and in their honour strew;
In vain how many a prayer
I breathed into the air,
And made, with many forms, obeisance due.

Beating my breast, aloud
How oft I called the crowd
To drag the village car; how oft I stray'd,
In manhood's prime, to lave
Sunwards the flowing wave,
And, circling Śaiva fanes, my homage paid.

The Tamil writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are classified as modern. The most important are Tāyumānavan, the author of 1,453 pantheistic stanzas which have a high reputation, and the Italian Jesuit Beschi (d. 1742). Beschi's Tamil style is considered irreproachable. His principal work in that language is the *Tēmbāvaṇi*, or 'Unfading Garland.' It is a mixture of old Tamil legends with Italian reminiscences, the leading one being an episode from Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, in which St. Joseph is made the hero [1].

Malayālam literature.

The oldest Malayālam literature imitated Tamil poetry, but it soon fell under the spell of Sanskrit. The classical epoch commences with Tuñjattu Eruttachchhan (seventeenth century), who translated the *Mahābhārata* and some of the *Purānas*. At the end of the eighteenth century we find Kuñjan Nambiār, the author of several comedies and songs, and perhaps also of translations from Sanskrit. The language also possesses a history (the *Kēraḷōtpatti*), some books on medicine, collections of folk-tales, and other works.

Kanarese literature.

Kanarese literature originated, like Tamil literature, in the labours of the Jains. It is of considerable extent, and has existed for at least a thousand years. Nearly all the works which have been described seem to be either translations from or imitations

But they, the truly wise,
Who know and realize
Where dwells the Shepherd of the Worlds, will ne'er
To any visible shrine,
As if it were divine,
Deign to raise hands of worship or of prayer.

THE UNITY OF GOD AND OF TRUTH

God is one, and the Veda is one;
The disinterested, true Guru is one, and his initiatory rite one;
When this is obtained his heaven is one;
There is but one birth of men upon the earth,
And only one way for all men to walk in;
But as for those who hold four Vedas and six shastras,
And different customs for different people,
And believe in a plurality of gods,
Down they will go to the fire of hell!

GOD IS LOVE

The ignorant think that God and love are different.
None knows that God and love are the same.
Did all men know that God and love are the same,
They would dwell together in peace, considering love as God.

[1] See J. Vinson, 'Le Tasse dans la Poésie tamoule,' *Revue de Linguistique*, viii (1875), pp. 52 and ff. Beschi's original MS. is in the Library of the India Office.

of Sanskrit. Besides treatises on poetics, rhetoric, and grammar, it includes sectarian works of Jains, Lingāyats, Śaivas, and Vaishṇavas. Those of the Lingāyats appear to possess most originality. Their list includes several episodes of a *Basava Purāṇa*, in glorification of a certain Basava who is said to have been an incarnation of Śiva's bull Nandi. There is also an admired *Śataka* of Sōmēśvara. Modern Kanarese has a large number of particularly racy folk-ballads, some of which have been translated into English by Mr. Fleet. One of the most amusing echoes the cry of the long-suffering income-tax payer, and tells with considerable humour how the 'virtuous' merchants carefully understate their incomes.

Telugu literature.

The earliest surviving writings of Telugu authors date from the twelfth century, and include a *Mahābhārata* by Nannappa; but the most important works belong to the fourteenth and subsequent centuries. In the beginning of the sixteenth century the court of Kṛishṇa Rāya of Vijayanagar was famous for its learning, and several branches of literature were enthusiastically cultivated. Allasāni Peddana, his laureate, is called 'the Grandsire of Telugu poetry,' and was the pioneer of original poetical composition in the language, other writers having contented themselves with translating from Sanskrit. His best-known work is the *Svarōchisha-Manucharitra*, which is based on an episode in the *Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa*. Kṛishṇa Rāya himself is said to have written the *Āmuktamālyada*. Another member of his court was Nandi Timmana, the author of the *Pārijātāpaharaṇa*. Sūrana (flourished 1560) was the author of the *Kalāpūrṇōdaya*, which is an admired original tale of the loves of Nalakūbara and Kalabhāshiṇī, and of many other works. The most important writer was, however, Vēmana (sixteenth century), the poet of the people. He wrote in the colloquial dialect, and directed his satires chiefly against caste distinctions and the fair sex. He is to-day the most popular of all Telugu authors, and there is hardly a proverb or a pithy saying which is not attributed to him.

Only a few lines can be devoted to the Indian Tibeto-Chinese languages. The huge literature of Tibetan is excluded from consideration as not being directly concerned with British India, and there remain those of Burmese and of the Tai languages. In both cases the poetic diction differs so widely from the speech of common life as to be unintelligible without special study. Burmese literature is almost wholly secular, religious works being written in Pāli, the sacred language of the Buddhists. The main forms which this secular

Burmese literature.

literature has taken are history and the drama. The histories (called *Maha-Radza-Weng*) are national chronicles and go back for some eighteen hundred years, but are said to be of doubtful value. The dramas are extremely popular. They are of every kind—opera, tragedy, comedy, and broad farce—and are often of portentous length and fescennine in their humour. Of the Tai races, the Shan literature is said to be very extensive, but little is known about it. The Āhoms, the Tai race which conquered Assam, and whose language is now extinct, had also a large literature. The most valuable portion of both these literatures appears to be their histories. It was the Āhoms who introduced the cult of history into Assam, and the Assamese name for 'history,' *bu-ran-ji*, is an Āhom word meaning 'store of instruction for the ignorant.'

Āhom literature.

G. A. GRIERSON.